The Nation.

June 18, 1990 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canada

EDITORIAL

THORNBURGH'S JUSTICE

When President Bush announced that he was retaining Dick Thornburgh as Attorney General, the appointment was a popular one. Replacing the beleaguered Edwin Meese 3d, the former Pennsylvania Governor benefited by the initial contrast. But after twenty-two months in office, Thornburgh appears to be nothing less or more than a Meese in sheep's fleece.

His first nominee to head the civil rights division, William Lucas, had no serious qualifications for the job. Thornburgh is leak-obsessed. Although he has been quiet about it, he has carried on Meese's anti-pornography crusade in ways that compromise the spirit of the First Amendment. His colleagues have criticized him for running his department by cronyism. He apparently slowed at least one politically inconvenient investigation by easing out the U.S. Attorney in charge. His deputy attorney general quit after only six months in office, charging that Thornburgh had tried to quash an internal investigation when he discovered that the guilty party was one of his Pennsylvania favorites. And two top aides were recently reshuffled or demoted (it's still not clear which) amid charges of a cover-up.

But perhaps the most dangerous continuity with Reagan-Meese is in the area of judicial selection. Thornburgh has nominated die-hard conservatives and reactionaries to federal judgeships. He would now elevate to the Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit Federal District Judge Kenneth Ryskamp, who said, in overruling a jury verdict favorable to black plaintiffs who were mauled by police dogs, "I think of countries where, if you are guilty of a robbery, they cut off your hand. . . . It might not be inappropriate to carry around a few scars."

The Attorney General is supposed to serve three masters: the President, the law and the people. Thornburgh caters only to the first.

ETHIOPIAN AID
Ross Hammond John Prendergast

THE PRESS AND THE PANAMA INVASION
Marc Cooper

SEPARATIST BLACK STATE UNIVERSITIES
Adam Nossiter

FICTION AND REALITY
David Kaufman

WAGNER'S 'RING'
Edward W. Said

DEFENSE POLICY IN THE 90S

THE U.S. MILITARY FACES SOUTH

MICHAEL T. KLARE

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, NJ 07019
JUN 7
PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT

With the sluggishness of a giant supertanker turning in midocean, the U.S. military establishment is slowly changing its strategic course. Well before arms-control issues were debated at last week's summit, it began shifting from a cold war heading fixed on Moscow to a post–cold war bearing aimed at the Third World. Many Pentagon officials are still resisting the change; nevertheless, America's war machine of the 1990s will face south, across the Rio Grande, the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, rather than east, across the plains of Europe.

This new orientation will entail revolutionary changes in the organization, strategic outlook and deployment modes ("roles and missions") of the armed forces. Whereas existing strategy emphasizes heavy armored divisions configured for a static, defensive war in Europe, the emerging post–cold war strategy stresses light and medium forces prepared for rapid insertion into (and egress from) Third World areas. And while current doctrine focuses almost exclusively on the problems of "high-intensity" conflict (full-scale war), the emerging doctrine concentrates on "low-intensity" and "mid-intensity" conflicts, involving guerrilla war, terrorists, separatists or minor military forces, on the one hand, and major regional contests on the other.

Most senior military officials continue to argue that the United States must remain prepared for a resurgence of Soviet militarism, but everyone from Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney on down now acknowledges that this can be accomplished with significantly fewer

(*Continued on Page 858*)

0 377535 6 25 08585

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

AIDS IN AFRICA AND AMERICA

New York City

I was deeply disturbed by Bruce E. Fleming's article on AIDS in an African context, "African Perceptions of AIDS: Another Way of Dying" [April 2]. Fleming's point that Westerners' post-Enlightenment hubris precludes their acceptance of the inevitability of incurable disease and death does not address the reality that death and suffering are not equitably distributed in either an African or a Western context. It is not by chance that those who will continue to get AIDS in the United States will be primarily intravenous drug users, their partners and children, who, not accidentally, are primarily minorities, while within the gay population, new incidence of HIV infection is highest among minority and low-income gays.

With regard to his point on the culturally relativistic perception of AIDS as just another way of dying in Africa, an argument similar to Fleming's has been made by some members of the African-American community—AIDS as just another source of mortality, along with the high toll taken by cardiovascular disease, cancer and violence. However, the endemic malnutrition, the preference for quick-fix inoculations and the lack of sanitation in Africa of which Fleming speaks are not part of a static, functionalist cultural configuration. Many of Africa's ills are due to wage labor that results in manless villages, colonial and neocolonial monocropping that results in soil erosion and drought, and less arable land for subsistence crops. Frantz Fanon wrote long ago that people reject or embrace medical theory and practice according to the social relations in which they are embedded.

Fleming raises the question, "Who says that things aren't supposed to be like this? They are in fact just like this for much of the earth's population." This static vision of the world leaves no room for social change. Fleming is misguided in saying that the major source of illness is the conflict between humans and nature—it is between human and human. As social beings we have some power in such a struggle. However, empowerment of people will not come about from acceptance of inevitability. The lesson here should not be that AIDS pales in an African context but rather that disease is not distributed equitably in either America or Africa. *Jill Rips*

AIDS IN KENYA

Canastota, N.Y.

Having just returned from six months in Kenya as a visiting research associate in the department of psychiatry at the University of Nairobi, I was distressed by much of Bruce E. Fleming's "Another Way of Dying." On the basis of experience in Rwanda between 1985 and 1987, Fleming makes generalizations about African perceptions of AIDS and makes specific comments about Kenya. These most emphatically do not fit the Kenya I saw from September 1989 to March 1990. While there is occasional discussion of where AIDS came from (and some believe it was developed by the C.I.A. in a lab in California), there is much more attention to how to treat it, how to prevent its spread and how to cope with its side effects. To Kenyans, AIDS is not simply another way of dying. There is awareness that AIDS is sexually transmitted, that its victims include infants of infected mothers and that beyond the suffering and death of those affected by the disease itself, additional hardship is imposed upon their offspring. All too often, en route to orphanhood, these children suffer first from poverty and neglect as their parents become too ill to work and care for the household.

Nor is there the assumption that a cure for AIDS will come, if at all, from the West. Rather, both herbalists and medical researchers are actively seeking effective treatments and a cure. In fact, in December 1989 the Kenya Medical Research Institute (Kemri) announced the synthesis of a new drug, Kemron, which in early clinical trials showed promise of reversing AIDS symptoms. At present, further testing is under way in Kenya and Kemri is cooperating with the World Health Organization in planning international testing. *The Nation* seems to have a rather romantic view of the African who, unlike the Westerner, faces death with equanimity and passivity rather than protest and appropriate action. *Pauline E. Ginsberg*

MILKEN NO PONZI

New York City

Michael Milken is a crook, but contrary to your assertion in "Lessons of Milkenomics" [May 21], his universe has *not* been revealed as a "Ponzi scheme."

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a Ponzi scheme—after Charles Ponzi, a notorious Boston swindler—as "a form of fraud in which belief in the success of a fictive enterprise is fostered by payment of quick returns to first investors from money invested by others." And so it was. In 1919-20 Ponzi promised a 40 percent return in ninety days from a foreign exchange arbitrage venture. He told investors that he would buy International Postal Reply coupons in countries where the dollar exchange rate was low, redeem them at face value for stamps in countries where the exchange rate was much higher and then sell the stamps at a large profit. But Ponzi never purchased any coupons, hence the fraud.

By contrast, Milken and Drexel Burnham Lambert financed real, not fictive, enterprises. In addition to hundreds of small and medium-sized businesses, their customers included Turner Broadcasting and its splendid Cable News Network; M.C.I., a successful long-distance telephone company that broke A.T.&T.'s monopoly; and McCaw Cellular, a major mobile phone service.

Benjamin Stein, who first drew the tortuous Ponzi analogy in *Barron's*, is a securities lawyer and former speechwriter of Nixon's White House, not, I would think, a rhetorical role model for *The Nation*. *Harvey H. Segal*

SEXISM ERECT

Ann Arbor, Mich.

The Nation's April 30 Earth Day issue, "How on Earth?: Strategies for a Habitable Planet," was eye-opening, but the cover illustration of the wide-eyed Mother Earth helplessly grasping her virile protector was even more so. Are we expected to see ourselves as the erect defenders of an exposed, voluptuous female unable to stand on her feet? Does the fact that ecology has moved from the "fringe" (read "female" domain) to the mainstream mean that we must conceptualize it in suitably "heroic" terms? "How on earth" are we to develop a constructive politics concerning environmental issues if images of subordination (female or other) are constitutive of this project? *Julie Skurski*

SEXISM RAMPANT

Hunter, N.Y.

Your poetry competition and its result were remarkable ["Prizewinning Poets—1990," May 14]. Competitiveness is one of those traits of our present system I'd think you'd eschew. But what really irks me is your result: Four female poets win a competition cosponsored by a publication with a female poetry editor [Grace Schulman]. Yes, there were males on the judging panel just as the queens of old had eunuchs to attend them. Does *The Nation* mean to tell us there were no entries by male poets that remotely approached the quality (however that's judged) of the winners? I can imagine the screams from the gallery if the results were as one-sided in the other direction—four male winners of a prize offered by a publication with a male poetry editor.

If progressive principles include freedom from gender bias, you're as regressive as anyone, only you've exchanged Neanderthal attitudes for Amazonian. You're as helplessly carried about by the raging beast of gender prejudice as anyone you've ever criticized. *Dominick Amarante*

SCHULMAN REPLIES

New York City

The Discovery—*Nation* contest is nearly unique in that it is judged anonymously. Neither the judges nor I know the gender or the names of the poets who enter the competition. However, this information might enlighten Dominick Amarante: According to the laws of probability, if an equal number of male and female poets submit entries, one out of sixteen times all the winners will be female, or male. *Grace Schulman*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 250, Number 24

LETTERS
842

EDITORIALS
841 Thornburgh's Justice
843 Beyond Summitry
844 Ethiopian Aid — *Ross Hammond and John Prendergast*
845 Accounts Payable — *Tim Wise*

COLUMNS
846 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
848 Beltway Bandits — *David Corn*
849 Watching Rights — *Aryeh Neier*

ARTICLES
841 Defense Policy in the 90s: The U.S. Military Faces South — *Michael T. Klare*
850 Missing the Story: The Press and the Panama Invasion — *Marc Cooper*
854 Black State Universities: Separatism Down South — *Adam Nossiter*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
862 The Semi-Fictional Solution — *David Kaufman*
865 Music — *Edward W. Said*
870 Resolutions (poem) — *Alfred Corn*
871 Film Note — *Stuart Klawans*

Illustrations by W.B. Park

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Jody Berger (Washington), Laura Brownstone, Gideon Forman, Benjamin Hensler, Christopher Johnson, Peter Rothberg, Deborah Schwartz, Laurie Stuhlbarg.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus: Washington*, Jefferson Morley and David Corn, *editors*; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Stuart Klawans (*The Small Time*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*); *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, David Parker; *Associate Publisher and General Manager*, Neil Black; *Associate Publisher and Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Vice President and Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Vice President and Nation Associates Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Nation Associates Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc. 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on May 31.

EDITORIALS.

Beyond Summitry

Mikhail Gorbachev may be the first post-cold war Soviet leader, but he is still conditioned by cold war attitudes and constrained by cold war fears. The Bush Administration's insistence on adding East Germany to an essentially anti-Soviet alliance in Europe (how else can NATO be defined?) is nothing if not a continuation of cold war strategies. The American propensity to see the collapse of the state in each shopping crisis and ethnic conflict in the Soviet Union illustrates the persistence of anti-Communist ideology in the heart of the West. Only a fool in the Kremlin would believe that the United States really wishes him well and is ready to help the Soviet Union the way earlier American governments helped wounded adversaries at the end of World War II. And Gorbachev is no fool.

Once again the military model masks the meaning of the cold war: This time, it obscures the true significance of its resolution, or at least its remission. Many Americans would like to see Gorbachev surrender in the manner of the Japanese on the deck of the U.S.S. Missouri, with bows and scrapes and swords delivered to triumphant generals. The Russians would immediately forswear state ownership of the means of industrial production and disarm unilaterally once and for all. Perhaps cold-war-crimes trials for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defeated leaders would be held in a Soviet city, and all party members would be required to enroll in de-Communization classes run by the American Enterprise Institute.

But the cold war was not World War III, and it is ending with neither a bang on our side nor a whimper on theirs. The cold war was a political and ideological system for organizing and ordering world power, and it is undergoing a profound evolutionary transformation that will produce no clear triumph or defeat. Gorbachev is driving that change (although he may not carry it through himself) but Bush and his NATO partners are bound to follow that lead sooner or later.

The United States has a major role to play in the construction of the new system of power and politics that will replace the cold war order. It is not simply a matter of "helping Gorbachev" patch the Soviet economy and resolve its nationalities' conflicts but of sharing responsibility for making and securing a peaceful world. In some ways the situation recalls the run-up to Versailles in 1919 as well as the days before the several conferences of 1945 that set up international organizations for economic and political stability. Neither of those earlier efforts was an enormous success, in part because of American insistence on being the dominant world power.

But the time of empires has now passed, as Gorbachev acknowledges. He has made unprecedented concessions to the forces that have long plotted his nation's destruction. It's time for substantial reciprocity, not just the movement of "bargaining chips" on the geopolitical board. In the end the United States will have to acknowledge its share of the responsibility for creating and pursuing the cold war, and for the damage done. That will require a shift of ideology as well as a restructuring of resources: our own *perestroika*. It has not yet begun.

Ethiopian Aid

Five years after the Live Aid concerts and the song "We Are the World," between 4 million and 5 million Ethiopians again face starvation. As in 1984-85, when a million Ethiopians died, drought has exacerbated the effects of a brutal war fought by the regime of Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam against rebel forces.

Today, however, Ethiopia's fifteen-year-old military dictatorship is near collapse. After surviving a bloody coup attempt and numerous defections in the past year, Mengistu has executed more than three dozen military commanders, including the heads of the army and air force, and has had more than 200 high-ranking military and civilian officials arrested. Meanwhile, rebel forces of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) and the Tigre People's Liberation Front (T.P.L.F.) now control most of northern Ethiopia and have moved to within 100 miles of the capital, Addis Ababa.

The E.P.L.F. has fought for thirty years for an independence referendum. Now they may not need that vote if their military successes continue. Similarly, the T.P.L.F.'s quest for greater regional autonomy has been supplanted by a desire to overthrow the Mengistu regime and replace it with a more representative government. The military prospects for the two liberation groups brightened over the past year because they launched a series of coordinated offensives.

After pumping in $800 million in arms to shore up the regime in 1989, the Soviet Union has pledged to end such shipments in 1991. To fill the anticipated gap, Ethiopia has turned to a friend from the days when Emperor Haile Selassie ruled the roost: Israel. Currently the largest recipient of U.S. aid, Israel recently provided Mengistu with cluster bombs, white phosphorus bombs, Uzi submachine guns and other forms of lethal aid. Hundreds of Israeli advisers have been training Ethiopian troops and crafting recent Ethiopian military strategies, including the aerial bombardment of civilian targets. Israel and Ethiopia stress the importance of cooperation to prevent the Red Sea from becoming the "Arab Sea," as Israel's Ambassador to Ethiopia warned, referring to the large number of Muslims living in Eritrea.

Recent talks between the E.P.L.F. and the Mengistu regime, mediated by former President Jimmy Carter, foundered over the regime's refusal to discuss famine relief or to invite the United Nations to the negotiations, despite having signed an agreement to do so.

The political crisis has seriously impeded current relief efforts. In February, the E.P.L.F. captured the vital Red Sea port of Massawa, through which most relief supplies to government-held areas of Eritrea and Tigre had previously traveled. The E.P.L.F. has offered to make the port available to the international community for food distribution to all northern Ethiopia. Instead of accepting, the U.N. and other donors have undertaken a costly and ineffective airlift in cooperation with the government. Mengistu answered the E.P.L.F.'s offer by attacking the port with napalm and cluster bombs.

In the mid-1980s more than 70 percent of the population in need of assistance lived in rebel-held areas; today, that figure exceeds 85 percent. Despite this, the international donor community, led by the United States, continues to direct most relief supplies through government channels. This means that hungry citizens in Eritrea and Tigre must cross battle lines to get food, gathering in the squalid feeding camps that caused so much death from disease in 1985.

There is an alternative, which is to work through the Eritrean Relief Association (E.R.A.) and the Relief Society of Tigre (REST). These are indigenous relief organizations that work in rebel-held areas, trucking food across the Sudanese border at night to avoid Ethiopian air force attacks. Independent observers have praised both groups for their efficiency and their lack of corruption. Oxfam's emergency officer, Tony Vaux, who has eighteen years of experience working in Africa, returned this April from rebel-held Eritrea highly impressed with E.R.A. He described it as "without doubt the most effective relief operation I have ever seen. The trucks move like clockwork and they have the sophisticated democratic structures at the village level to make sure food gets to those who need it."

Meanwhile, the cross-border relief operations continue to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be grossly underfunded. One senior official at the U.S. Agency for International Development was quoted in *The Wall Street Journal* as saying, "Officially, our position is, 'Golly, is there a cross-border operation?'"

Unless the international community moves quickly, another million lives may be lost in 1990. First, food, medicine and transport assistance should be massively increased through E.R.A. and REST. Second, the United States should put pressure on Israel to end its lethal arms shipments to Ethiopia. Finally, the tottering and demoralized Mengistu regime should be further isolated with trade and non-emergency aid sanctions. Only when a broad-based government is convened in Addis Ababa can peace be sincerely pursued in an atmosphere free from fear and repression.

ROSS HAMMOND AND JOHN PRENDERGAST

Ross Hammond is a freelance writer and part-time consultant at the United Nations. John Prendergast is a research associate at the Washington-based Center of Concern and co-coordinator of the Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa.

Accounts Payable

The economy has once again failed to play the cheery role scripted for it in George Bush's budget proposal. Slow economic growth, low corporate tax receipts and higher-than-expected interest rates have forced budget director Richard Darman to raise the official forecast for next fiscal year's deficit to as much as $138 billion, alarming even the placid White House. Add to that Nicholas Brady's more realistic prognosis for the savings and loan bailout, and next year's deficit could exceed $200 billion, swelling the national debt well past $3 trillion. Deficit reduction is once again at the top of the bipartisan agenda. Predictably absent, however, is attention to America's other debt crisis, one that probably has a more profound impact on people's everyday lives. This is the debt crisis facing corporations and households. Not even another $200 billion deficit will move the federal government out of third place in relation to these debtors.

Thanks to last decade's buyout boom, businesses owe some $3 trillion to bankers and bondholders. Borrowing is so extreme that, as a group, nonfinancial corporations actually paid out more in interest last year than they earned in after-tax profits. Households were similarly in hock, with I.O.U.s of $3.5 trillion by year's end. The average household's debt is now 94 percent of its after-tax income.

While many point to the debt boom as proof of Americans' profligacy during the Greed Decade, according to a study by Robert Pollin, an economist at the University of California, Riverside, those deepest in debt, low- and middle-income people, weren't on a spending spree. Eighty-two percent of households owe money, and 55 percent owe as much or more than they own. Most of those people borrowed just to keep pace, to protect a standard of living today's wages can no longer sustain. From their peak in 1973, real wages in the United States have fallen more than 16 percent. And despite the increasing number of women in the labor force, the real median household income has also declined. Meanwhile, expenses, particularly housing costs, have gone through the roof. As a result, the majority of households now buy on credit what they used to pay for in cash.

The rich increased their borrowing also, but for entirely different reasons. Unlike the rest of us, their incomes rose sharply in the 1980s. With relatively low returns on productive investment, they speculated, inflating real estate prices and overheating financial markets. Not content to risk their own hardly earned money, they borrowed and gambled with other people's. Among the wealthy's most lucrative investments were mergers, takeovers and leveraged buyouts. And here is where the overlapping trends of household and corporate debt come into sharpest relief.

The buyout craze was also the principal source of the corporate debt boom. During the 1980s corporations bought back more than $500 billion in stock and in its place took on $1 trillion in debt. Much of that debt came in the form of corporate bonds, and, as the decade wore on, an increasing proportion of those bonds were junk—high-yield, high-risk notes issued to finance the buyout binge. Not surprisingly, the deal makers didn't reserve any golden parachutes for low- and middle-income Americans. As the new breed of financiers-cum-industrialists paid down their debts by busting unions, cutting wages, closing factories and selling stores, many workers crashed to earth. Those are the same workers who increased their own borrowing just to hang on to what little they owned.

While Wall Street deal makers were quick to counsel that such sacrifices were necessary to restore the international competitiveness of U.S. corporations, evidence of such vigor is scarce. According to a recent survey by the National Science Foundation, companies that were involved in a takeover or buyout reduced spending on research and development, the engine for future innovation, by 13 percent. From all indications, many of today's buyouts could be tomorrow's bankruptcies.

Taking government, corporate and household borrowing together, the debt crisis is truly without precedent in the postwar era. Cumulatively it came to about $10 trillion at the end of 1989, more than 180 percent of the G.N.P. Prior to 1983 it had not exceeded 150 percent in the postwar period. The magnitude of these debts leaves Washington's budget negotiators little room to maneuver. All agree that overlarge reductions in the deficit could induce a recession in an economy gone soft. But continued borrowing could have the same effect by keeping interest rates high.

Once the next recession begins, there's no telling where it will end. With corporations and households already barely meeting their obligations, a bankruptcy wave is sure to make the last recession seem tame by comparison. For Washington's debt busters, the task is daunting, because America's debts will indeed be unforgiving when the downturn comes.

TIM WISE

Tim Wise is a staff editor at Dollars & Sense.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Sodality of Tears

Ardmore, Ireland

Here in Ireland this late spring, on the last Saturday in May, Chief Hollis Roberts of the Choctaw Nation led a thousand people on a march along the Trail of Tears, where 600 men, women and children died on a trek across the Mayo mountains in search of food in 1849.

The Choctaw know all about such dark journeys. On their own Trail of Tears in 1831 they were deported from southern Mississippi to Oklahoma. Through a forced march, 500 miles in the dead of winter, some 14,000 Choctaws perished. In 1847, in the frontier town of Skullyville, Oklahoma, the Choctaw heard of the famine devastating Ireland. They raised $710, an immense sum for people themselves almost destitute, and sent it across a continent and an ocean.

The 1990 march was organized by the group Action from Ireland, which invited Chief Roberts to lead the "famine walk" from Doolough to Louisburgh. The walk, said the group's statement, "symbolizes the continued suffering of millions of human beings on our planet today, who die of hunger and hunger-related diseases, caused by the same injustice and human rights violations which crushed so many Irish and American Indians in the last century."

It was eerie to turn from this moving episode of international solidarity to stories of Soviet "radicals" cursing Gorbachev, himself mostly persuaded by their arguments, for being too slow in plunging the Soviet Union into the caldron of the free market. The Irish famine of 1845-49 was one of the most determined tests of free-market discipline in human history. With most of their land seized and used for export crops, the Irish were forced to rely on just one staple, the potato. When the blight struck, Irish peasants—about a million of them—starved as their British overlords, braced by liberal free-market theory, continued to export the grain that could have saved lives.

These days, according to the Quality of Life index devised by the United Nations Development Program, Ireland ranks seventeenth, two places ahead of the United States, whither so many Irish fled after the famine. The criteria that establish this ranking (topped by Japan) include literacy, life expectancy and social services as well as average income and wealth created. The survey's author, Mahbub ul Haq, warns that social services are declining throughout Western countries as a whole. "There has been a drop in social spending from 17 per cent of total expenditure to 10 per cent over the last ten years." This is our old friend free-market discipline flexing its muscles again. The Choctaws' quality of life is mixed. There are some 90,000 in the world and 19,000 in Oklahoma, where unemployment on their native lands is 37 percent. To battle this they have implemented an extensive system of social services, with free health care, food supplements, tuition and housing assistance. They also do subcontracting work for Boeing and Lockheed, which suggests some uncomfortable ironies.

Waterford Glass, Czech Threats

Driving into the city of Waterford, forty-five miles east of Ardmore, I passed the new industrial park and the Waterford Crystal factory. It was closed, and pickets of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union were clustered around the gates. Before 1825, when the English struck it down with an excise tax, there had been a flourishing glass industry in Ireland; by 1850 the industry was almost dead. The tax actually provoked a surge in cut glass, since the duty on this so-called flint glass—which uses silicates of potash and lead—was imposed only on molten glass in the crucibles and on the unfinished goods. The manufacturer therefore had a strong motivation to increase the value of the finished product, thus recouping his taxes, by such artifices as elaborate cutting. This became the most conspicuous feature, often carried to vulgar excess, of Waterford glass.

The old Waterford factory, once in the hands of Gatchell and Co., finally expired, but in 1948 the McGrath family revived this local industry in a shed in Ballytruckle outside Waterford. They prospered and by the mid-1980s were, with a labor force of some 3,000, one of the largest private employers in the Irish Republic. Then the McGraths sold out their controlling interest and a familiar tale began to unwind. In 1986 the company took over Wedgwood, an enterprise larger than itself. I'd stopped by the factory gate, and a couple of union organizers, Kevin Flynn and Jim Power, told me what happened next. A debt load of $370 million led inevitably to attempts to cut costs, and the managers laid off more than a thousand workers. Many highly skilled glass blowers and cutters took early retirement, with payoffs of up to $80,000. The less skilled and less senior fared far worse.

This "rationalization" was one of the most notorious pieces of mismanagement in Irish business history. In each team of blowers in the factory were men with specific skills. "There's your heavy blower and your light blower," Flynn said, "and your stemmer, ball blower, bit gatherer, jug maker." It was the same with men skilled at the art of wedge, rheontour and flat cutting. The managers retired these men without regard to specific crafts, so a team could end up with no heavy blowers, for instance, and not enough work for the cutters.

Three years later a new lot of managers was still trying to hack away at labor costs and in April took aim at the "bonanza" payment system, a perk negotiated for some workers in the palmy days of the McGrath era. The consequence was a strike by all 2,300 workers. Union strike pay of $40 a week for singles and, in state-supplied supplementary health benefits, $70 for nonworking spouses and $17 for each child hadn't made it easy. Nonetheless, Flynn remarked that the pickets looked a lot healthier than when the strike began. Glass blowing and cutting are stressful occupations, and the cutters get rheumatism from the water running over their hands. Power said you don't see too many foundrymen around town over 60 years of age. They mix in the lead sulfate, which gives the glass its brilliance.

What had really worried the workers, Flynn and Power

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said, was management's threat to relocate the factory to Czechoslovakia. "They told us," Flynn said, "that no one in America, which is our main market, knew where Waterford was anyway, and they wouldn't be bothered if the glass was blown and cut someplace near Prague."

A shutdown of Waterford Crystal would be devastating to the region. Everyone is waiting for some new proposals from the Minister of Labor. I said goodbye to Flynn and Power and headed toward Ardmore. I got back there late in the evening to find that the great Henry O'Reilly, owner of O'Reilly's bar, had died a few minutes earlier, at the age of 79. Henry had been a Provo in political outlook. I remember him shouting out one night in the bar, "Let there be Thurbulence!" On the hillside in the new Catholic cemetery at his funeral an Irish piper played "Sliabh na mBan" as the east winds—the Druid wind as they call it—which brought St. Declan to Ardmore sometime in the fifth century, sent whitecaps into the bay and tossing up on the strand.

That night I got back from Waterford there was a Welshman in Keever's bar, next to O'Reilly's. He sang the "Gresford Disaster," about a famous mining catastrophe in Wales in the 1930s. I listened to a fisherman inveighing against the Waterford Crystal workers as overpaid and tactically inept. Ardmore fishermen are an anarchic lot, united only in their hatred for a government that forbids them to catch salmon with monofilament nets, which efficiently leave less salmon for the tourist anglers up the Blackwater, many of them German and no doubt in their business lives now heading into Czechoslovakia to take advantage of cheap labor costs. The Gresford disaster was the first story my father covered for *The Daily Worker.* He was putting out his newsletter, "The Week," and Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party, conceived the idea of asking this exotic mercurist to see what had happened in Wales and to write about it for the *Worker.* The Welsh ballad singer finished his song:

> Down there in the deep they are lying,
> They died for nine shillings a day.
> They worked out their shift and 'tis now they must lie,
> In the darkness until Judgment Day.

Red Star Markets

In Ardmore, as everywhere else, people talk about Gorbachev. At the heart of "Gorbachevism" there has always been a political vacuum. In 1986 Gorbachev first spoke of *perestroika.* Four years later nobody inside or outside the Soviet Union knows even in general what *perestroika* means.

It's hard to see how Gorbachev's achievements match the tremendous hurrahs for the President/General Secretary. The "end of the cold war" that is supposedly upon us will be endured most keenly by people in the Third World, where the United States can now inflict its violence uncontested. Gorbachev's limitations seem to be those of the Muscovite intelligentsia, whose obsession with the United States helped bring him and his country to the brink of ruin. The laudable desire to inaugurate *glasnost* and civil rights was matched by an absolute lack of substantive ideas about economic reform and a grotesque spouting of comic-strip nonsense about the magical powers of the "market."

It is always assumed that criticism of Gorbachev can stem only from the wish that the whole system in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had remained frozen. Change had come, and would have continued coming whether or not Gorbachev had risen to supreme power. Gorbachev's mastery is mostly in turning change into chaos and chaos into catastrophe, rather in the manner of Czar Nicholas II. No doubt he's better than Yeltsin, who seems to be an entirely opportunistic demagogue, but occasional assertions of socialist principles don't make up for the mess.

One has to search through history to find so brief a span in which a substantial power, covering an ample portion of the globe, has sunk to its knees. The culminating absurdity was Prime Minister Ryzhkov's speech about the referendum (what Boris Kagarlitsky has called "market Stalinism"—that is, the authoritarian imposition of "market disciplines"), in which the Soviet people would be asked to give their assent to the sort of economic program that has so far bankrupted about 60,000 small businesses in Poland and sent workers out on strike.

When Ryzhkov announced plans for the referendum—or "consultation," as Gorbachev later refined the idea—on May 24, he said that "prices of meat will grow by 130 percent, prices of fish by 150 percent, prices of milk and sugar will double. The price of bread will treble. . . . The Government proposes to increase retail prices of bread and bakery products by July 1st this year." Then he went on to explain that "bakery products" meant flour and anything made from flour.

As the *Irish Times* reporter in Moscow, Conor O'Clery, described it, "People literally poured out of their apartment blocks into the shops. July 1 was only 37 days away. . . . Throughout the city, shelves were emptied fast. Hundreds of buses brought waves of shoppers into town from the outlying suburbs. . . . Stores sold more flour and vegetable oil on Friday [the day after Ryzhkov's speech] than they normally sold in an entire month."

Describing the buying panic in the London *Observer* for May 27, William Millinship reported that "in one queue, women bitterly denounced the 'stupid government' for 'experimenting on us' and agreed they had all been better off in the 'stagnation' years of Leonid Brezhnev. One woman said loudly: 'We were the happiest country in the world. Everyone envies America, but America got rich by exploiting its colonies; we helped people.' "

The moral is not that Brezhnev was a great man. But the reality is that for all the talk about Gorbachev being a political genius, a program has to have more to it than maneuver. The Russian people have had their trails of tears, just like the Choctaw and the Irish, and they know perfectly well what free markets can mean.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ A Quiet Man

Senator Bill Bradley has a vision of a fairer and more progressive tax system. At a recent conference held by Citizens for Tax Justice, Bradley pleaded for restoring a greater degree of progressivity to the tax code. Mustering as much passion as he can, the Senator offered a basic rationale: "People who have more should pay more, and it's as simple as that." He suggested a dramatic increase in the earned-income tax credit to provide "real tax relief" to the "right people"—working families—and another credit to help out the middle class against the highly regressive Social Security tax. Of course, the difference would have to be made up by some rise in the taxes of the well to do. Sounds like a plan, doesn't it? Maybe something for Democrats to rally around? Don't get any ideas. Democratic Party leaders panic at the mere thought of proposing any tax scheme. When I later asked Bradley if he intended to present such a proposal, he replied, "We shouldn't talk about any taxes until Bush says he wants new taxes." But why not promote a plan that gives tax relief to the "right people" and increases the burden on those who have more? Without a note of apology in his voice, Bradley said, "It's a political judgment." It's also another symptom of an ailment common to many Democrats, praxiphobia: the fear of doing—rather than just saying—the right thing.

■ Is There a Doctor in the Senate?

On another front, campaign finance reform, Democrats were maneuvered by the Republicans into doing the right thing. Senate Democrats last month introduced a campaign reform bill that almost could have been written by Ralph Nader. It imposes campaign spending limits, provides nearly full public financing of general election Senate campaigns (including vouchers for prime-time television spots of one to five minutes), bars donations from political action committees to Senate candidates and drastically limits the use of "soft" money—funds raised by state and national parties.

The original Democratic bill did not go as far but was reconfigured in response to a Republican measure that, in the name of reform, would ban all PACs. The G.O.P. proposal, which includes no spending limits, would also raise the aggregate amount an individual could donate to federal campaigns from $25,000 every two-year election cycle to $85,000 per year. The net result of the Republican bill would be to give even more influence to rich donors and decimate a major fundraising base for the Democrats—PACs.

The Democrats have been hooked on special interest PACs for some time. Recall party chair Ron Brown's bullish assertion last year that PACs offer "opportunity" to "a lot of small donors to contribute effectively to a campaign." Still, it would look bad for the Democrats, once the party of reform, to oppose a PAC ban. Spurred on by Senator John Kerry, the Senate Democrats struck back with a measure that would prohibit PAC contributions but would also provide public financing of Senate campaigns. (Candidates who raise a modest threshold amount from small in-state contributions and comply with spending limits would receive up to 90 percent of their general election campaign war chest from public funds.) The bill, which would drive big money out of Senate races, shows that good policy can be good politics. But now the Democrats are civilly negotiating with the Republicans, again in search of that Holy Grail of bipartisan compromise. Opportunity remains for praxiphobia (compounded by bipartiphilia) to set in.

■ Nice Little Embassy You Have Here . . .

More fascinating nuggets from the treasure-trove of Oliver North's diaries, which were recently released in two batches by the Justice Department:

§ On March 4, 1985, North and Robert McFarlane, then the National Security Adviser, held a meeting with four Republican Representatives during which there was a discussion on how the Congressional ban on aid to the *contras* could be subverted by using third countries like Saudi Arabia and Taiwan, with the White House coordinating the action. Two of these "lawmakers"—Henry Hyde and Bill McCollum—went on to become members of the House Iran/*contra* committee.

§ One of the 2,657 pages released might pose trouble for Elliott Abrams, the combative neocon and former Assistant Secretary of State. Abrams testified before the Iran/*contra* committees that he was unaware of the specifics of North's provision of material support to the *contras*. "We weren't in the business of giving military aid," Abrams said under oath. Asked about the Costa Rican airstrip used by North's supply network, Abrams told the Tower commission, "My understanding was nobody ever used the airstrip . . . that it had never gotten into operation." Let's turn to North's diary entry for April 25, 1986. That day he and Abrams met. Listed as topics of discussion are these items: "Air base open in C.R. [Costa Rica]" and "100 B.P.s fm. Chile." The latter refers to a shipment of Blowpipe missiles North arranged to be sent to the *contras*. Abrams ought to worry about the grand jury recently called by independent counsel Lawrence Walsh to examine the "pattern of deceit" among Reagan officials.

§ In the first release from the diaries, which I mentioned here two weeks ago, there was a puzzling entry. A note on an April 13, 1985, discussion between North and retired Maj. Gen. John Singlaub contained the line: "Arrange for explosion in earshot of ROC embassy." Singlaub says he can't recall what it means. But a page from the second batch might offer some explanation. On November 28, 1984, North and Singlaub chatted about how to squeeze a contribution out of Taiwan for the *contras*, and North scribbled down the highlights of a talk Singlaub had with a Taiwanese official, including the advice "Govt. in Managua could cost the ROC an embassy." So the general warns the Taiwanese that they ought to be concerned about their embassy in Managua. Then he and North talk about arranging a blast near an R.O.C. mission. By the end of 1985, Taiwan had donated $2 million to the *contras*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WATCHING RIGHTS.

ARYEH NEIER

This is the first of what will be a regular column on human rights, appearing every third issue. Aryeh Neier, a longtime contributor, is the director of Human Rights Watch.

Herman Cohen, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is generally respected as a thoughtful and decent man who has quietly helped to reshape U.S. policy toward South Africa. President Bush's invitation last year to antiapartheid leader Albertina Sisulu to meet him in the White House—a gesture that would have been unimaginable in the Reagan years—probably played a part in the subsequent release from prison of Sisulu's husband, Walter, and, thereafter, of his colleague in the A.N.C., Nelson Mandela. When the history of freedom in South Africa is written, Cohen will deserve at least a footnote for his part in signaling a change in the stance of the United States.

It is puzzling, therefore, that the same Herman Cohen should be managing policy with respect to another African country in a manner that is publicly uncritical of one of the most savage regimes to emerge anywhere in the world in recent years. The Revolutionary Command Council of Lieut. Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir, which seized power in Sudan in a coup on June 30, 1989, has combined in an exceptionally cruel fashion the worst features of militarism and Islamic fundamentalism. In less than a year it has destroyed in the north of Sudan what was one of the most vibrant civil societies in Africa, imprisoning, torturing and executing hundreds of academics, journalists, lawyers, trade unionists, doctors and dissident members of the armed forces. In one gruesome case, Dr. Ali Fadul, 35, an official in the Ministry of Health and a leader of the Doctors' Union, died on April 21 as a result of torture. Unions have been banned, newspapers have been shut down, women have been dismissed from public office. Indeed, it is difficult to think of a category of human rights violation that has not been practiced wholesale by the Bashir government.

Herman Cohen testified on Sudan at a March 15 joint hearing of the House Subcommittee on Africa and the International Task Force of the Select Committee on Hunger. The purpose of the hearing was to review the human rights situation, yet speaking for the Bush Administration, Cohen said not a word about human rights in his opening statement. The chair of the subcommittee, Representative Howard Wolpe of Michigan, cited the findings on Sudan of Africa Watch and Amnesty International. Did Cohen agree? Grudgingly, Cohen acknowledged the accuracy of some of those findings, demurred with respect to others and quickly launched into a discussion of "improvements"—one of those being the government's decision in certain cases not to carry out Shariah (Islamic law) punishments such as amputations. Despite prodding by Wolpe and others, Cohen declined every opportunity to condemn the Bashir government.

It once might have been possible to attribute such a performance to cold war competition. Sudan has been on "our" side; its neighbor in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia—also a practitioner of state terror—has been on "their" side. But in 1990? Even the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia is courting better relations with the United States.

A more defensible explanation seems possible. Even before Bashir staged his coup, terrible human rights abuses took place in Sudan in the course of a war that has been fought, not entirely along religious and racial lines, between the predominantly Arab and Islamic north and the predominantly black Christian and animist south. Both sides have used starvation as a weapon. Largely as a result of this, more than 250,000 people died in the famine of 1986-89. Substantial relief was not provided until late 1988, mostly because international donors who knew what was going on did not speak out for fear of offending the government and thereby losing their ability to work in Sudan.

The relief effort that was eventually organized was known as Operation Lifeline. Now, with war continuing and famine looming again in the south, the Bush Administration is helping to organize Operation Lifeline 2. Could it be that Cohen refuses to denounce the unspeakable cruelties of the Bashir government for fear that it would retaliate by blocking the operation? If so, it is possible to understand his position. Still, that position is a mistake. The Bashir government has not altered the policies that have helped to produce famine. And a government so cruel as to starve its citizens by blocking food deliveries in reprisal for human rights criticism deserves to be denounced all the more vehemently. The International Committee of the Red Cross, which has the responsibility under the Geneva Conventions to provide humanitarian services in war zones, may have to trade away its capacity to speak out in return for the opportunity to offer such services. It is valuable that this role be played by some relief agency—but not by the government of the United States.

The United States is prohibited by law from aiding Sudan directly. Section 513 of the Foreign Assistance Act suspends aid to countries in which elected governments are overturned by military coup, and the Brooke amendment suspends aid to governments in arrears on their debts. Both apply to Sudan. Yet the United States continues to assist the Bashir government through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Last December the U.S. representative to the World Bank supported an $82.2 million loan to Sudan even though the International Financial Institutions Act requires the United States to oppose loans to governments that practice torture, political imprisonment and killings. The U.S. role in the I.M.F. is not regulated by human rights laws, and the Bush Administration has helped see to it that the I.M.F. assists the Bashir government in meeting its debts.

Worst of all, the spokesperson for the United States should not emphasize illusory "improvements" when called on to discuss human rights. By his doing so, the United States helps to legitimize a brutal regime and assists it in obtaining essential military, economic and diplomatic support. Given what may be his reasons, Herman Cohen may not deserve vilification, but he does deserve criticism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

MISSING THE STORY

The Press and the Panama Invasion

MARC COOPER

The scene on the top floor of Panama City's Holiday Inn—where the U.S. TV networks had taken up position—looked like a weekend frat party turning stale. Week Two of President Bush's Operation Just Cause was beginning, but the image-rich gun battles had ceased, and The Story had metamorphosed into the face-off across the street in front of Manuel Noriega's hide-out at the residence of the Papal Nuncio. Inside CNN's double suite, sweat-soaked clothes and empty beer bottles littered the floors. The U.S. Army's earsplitting barrage of rock music twenty floors below pounded on the windows and from the balcony swung a pineapple effigy, a derogatory and frankly racist allusion to the acne-scarred general who had just been blown out of power by 26,000 American troops.

The CNN technical crew was going stir-crazy. To break the monotony of their watch, they had taken to calling in song requests to the Army's Panama-based radio station. A delighted military D.J. thanked the crew over the air, cued up "Dirty Laundry" and chortled that it was "nice to have such a captive audience."

This off-screen camaraderie between the U.S. invasion force and the American TV crew is an apt metaphor for the generally uncritical, superficial, often jingoistic on-screen reporting that many Americans, in the era of Grenada and Libya, have come to expect from evening news shows.

But what about the supposedly more serious print media's performance on Panama? Could a curious, careful reader of the nation's most prestigious newspapers get a full and honest account of the wherefores and consequences of the Bush Administration's first overseas war? It is a legitimate question, for Operation Just Cause riveted the increasingly elusive attention of the American people. According to the *Times Mirror* News Interest Index survey, 60 percent of Americans "very closely followed" news of the invasion during its first ten days, making it one of the most popular news events of the past five years.

To conduct a comprehensive analysis of newspaper coverage of the Panama invasion, the Oakland-based DataCenter assembled for *The Nation* the major articles on the subject that appeared in *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Miami Herald* and other papers during the seventeen-day period between the landing of the invasion force and the day after Noriega's surrender to U.S. troops.

The picture that emerges from a review of more than 300 articles and editorials is one of reporting that is intensive in quantity but generally weak in exploring four crucial aspects of the U.S. invasion: its propriety under international and constitutional law; the Bush Administration's real motives for launching it; the political, social and racial composition of the new Panamanian government; and the personal history of Noriega, who was so readily caricatured and demonized that very little reporting could credibly explain why the United States had decided to turn on an ally of thirty years.

The U.S. press did little more than parrot the Bush Administration's transparent legal justifications for the invasion. *The Washington Post*, for example, ran a long piece by Ann Devroy and Patrick Tyler the morning after the invasion, saying:

> The Administration cited the "inherent right of self defense" in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and the right of the U.S. government to protect its citizens, military installations and institutions under Article 21 of the Organization of American States treaty. The Panama Canal Treaty, the Justice Department said, also empowers the U.S. to protect and defend the canal and its use by all nations.

The *Post* itself made no comment on the initial claim that, in accord with United Nations stipulations, the United States was engaged in an act of "self defense." Nor did the *Post*, or other papers, appear to have read the O.A.S. treaty, Article 20 of which clearly states that a nation's territory "may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another state directly or indirectly on any grounds whatsoever." As for the Panama Canal Treaty, its terms do, in fact, allow for intervention to defend the canal against military attack, but the treaty explicitly bars intervention aimed at changing the nature of the Panamanian government.

A number of articles, such as pieces on December 21 by James Brooke in *The New York Times* and Dan Fisher in the *Los Angeles Times*, carried long accounts of European and Latin American denunciations of the invasion. But the legal basis of those criticisms was never explored, leaving the impression that only foreigners condemned the U.S. action, and that they did so not on a legal basis but rather for cynical political reasons.

Bill McAllister, writing in *The Washington Post* on the legality of the invasion two days into it, did cite two academic critics of the invasion, though even their judgments were equivocal. The fact that only Congress, and not the President, can constitutionally make war was mentioned in the last two paragraphs. But David Coles, an attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights, was then quoted as saying that, in any case, such notions "have been routinely ignored" for years. In the hundreds of articles reviewed for this analysis, reference to the constitutional question never again surfaced.

Los Angeles–based writer Marc Cooper covered the Panama invasion for The Village Voice. *He teaches journalism and Latin American studies at California State University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ten days after the invasion, when U.S. troops raided the clearly marked residence of the Nicaraguan Ambassador, the press again refrained from calling the action what it was: a flagrant violation of international law. The best *The New York Times* could do in its New Year's Day editorial was to say that "the incident distracts from more important priorities," including "getting on with the job of building a healthy and fully sovereign Panama."

On the day after the invasion, of the ten major papers whose editorials on the subject of Panama were surveyed for this article, not one condemned the U.S. occupation. *The Miami Herald*, in a fit of sophistry, went so far as to say that Panamanian sovereignty had been violated in an "absolutist" sense—but not in "real world terms."

The Bush Administration's motives and long-term goals behind the invasion were never seriously explored. Mainstream reporting, such as a Christmas Eve thumbsucker by *Washington Post* heavyweights Bob Woodward and David Hoffman, confined itself to repeating Bush's claims that the invasion was motivated only by the desire to capture a drug trafficker, protect the lives of American residents, guarantee operation of the canal and install a democratic government.

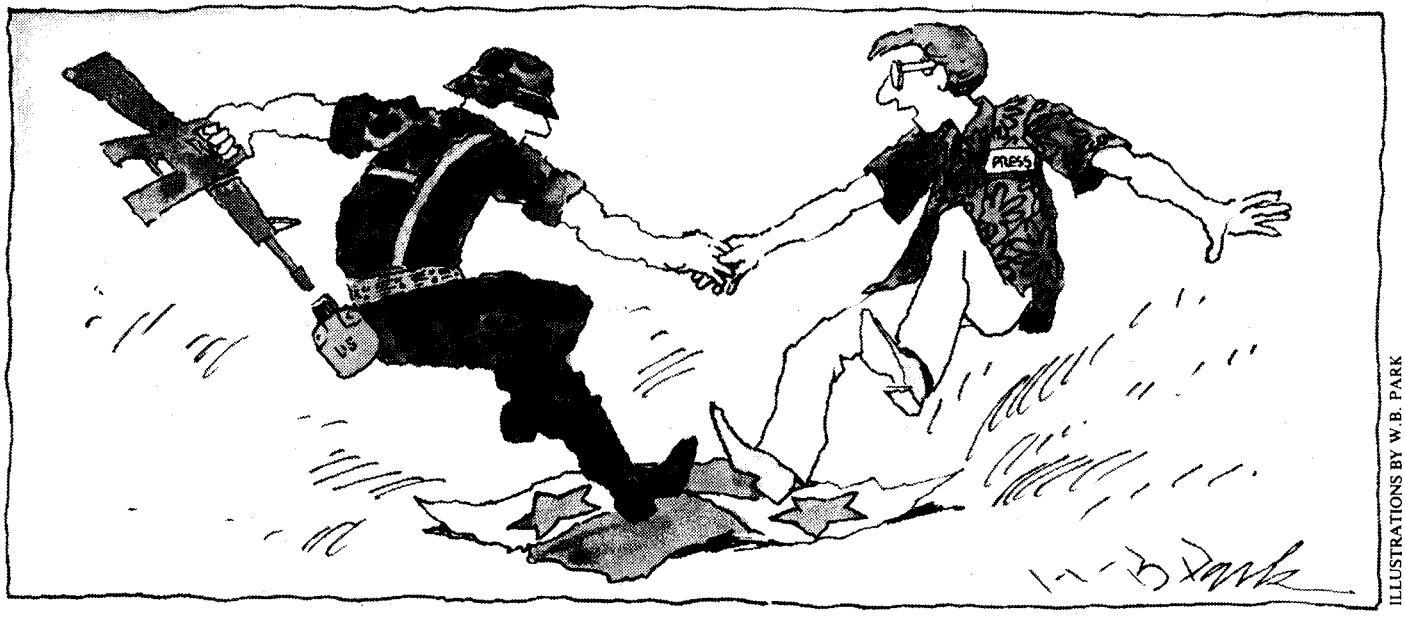
There was no deeper examination by the press of U.S. strategic goals. Although Panama has, along with Costa Rica, the richest intellectual community in Central America, U.S. reporters, for the most part, chose to ignore local sources. Many Panamanian analysts, such as Marco Gandásegui, who runs a national university-based think tank, argue that the blueprint for the invasion is to be found in a document, readily available to reporters, titled "Santa Fe II: A Strategy For Latin America in the Nineties"—a fiercely interventionist manifesto penned in 1988 by ideologues of the Republican right.

In its policy recommendations for Panama, the Santa Fe group asserts that "the ouster of Noriega and the holding of elections will not be enough to bring a democratic regime to Panama." The document argues that the United States will also have to "reform" the Panamanian Defense Forces and "revise" the banking laws "to prevent that country from sinking once again into drug cartel-based corruption." It also proposes changes in the Panamanian Constitution "to allow the extradition of Panamanian citizens [to the United States]," and most important, "The U.S. and Panama, once a democratic regime is in place, must begin to seriously plan for the proper management of the Canal . . . discussions should begin on a realistic defense of the Canal after the year 2000. These talks should include the United States' retention of limited facilities in Panama . . . for proper force projection throughout the Western Hemisphere." So far, Bush Administration policies have closely reflected the first three of these recommendations.

Then there is that final, all-important question of U.S. military bases in Panama. In accord with the Carter-Torrijos canal treaty, in the year 2000 the canal will for the first time become Panamanian territory. In addition, the vast array of U.S. bases from which the invasion was launched is supposed to be dismantled.

The possibility that a U.S. military presence after 2000 may now be renegotiated and approved was virtually absent from American newspaper analyses. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, refers to that crucial year in one line in a graph/chronology of U.S.-Panama relations. *The Washington Post*'s Joanne Omang must be credited with at least peripherally raising the issue of Panamanian sovereignty after 2000 on two different occasions. [For a more complete discussion of the issue see Phillip Berryman, "Arms and Panama," February 19.]

Reporters never tired of repeating that the new government of President Guillermo Endara and Vice Presidents Ricardo Arias Calderón and Guillermo (Billy) Ford was essentially "democratic" because, by all independent accounts, it had handily won national elections in May 1989 but was kept from office when the vote counting was suspended. However, the U.S. news media ignored the political, social and racial composition of the government installed by the invading troops. Even when *The New York Times*, dur-



ILLUSTRATIONS BY W.B. PARK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the first week of the invasion, ran special profiles on the three leaders, we learned little about where these men fit into Panama's political universe. Endara was described as "representing the Authentic Liberal Party," Arias Calderón was called a "leader" of the Christian Democratic Party and Ford was categorized as a "businessman" and "self-described" political novice. No hint was given that all three men belong to the 10 percent minority of white Panamanians (Noriega is mulatto). All we were ever told of these men is that they were "anti-Noriega." Similarly, almost all reports ignored the fact that their 1989 campaign was, in significant measure, financed directly by the Reagan Administration.

"The major policy mistake made by the United States," says John Dinges, whose definitive account of recent U.S.-Panamanian relations, *Our Man in Panama*, was published earlier this year, "is not understanding the nature of Noriega's opposition. The most important fact about them is they are weak, political non-entities, incapable of having mustered an effective movement against Noriega even when the mass of the Panamanian people were opposed to Noriega."

Their weakness is in great degree derived from their elitist politics. Endara represents the political traditions of the conservative Arnulfista movement, whose base is the landowning class. Vice President Arias Calderón's Christian Democrats are perhaps the most pro-U.S. force in Panama. Ford's political affiliations are with the ultraconservative Nationalist Liberal Republican Party.

In failing to analyze the political composition of the new Panamanian government, the press did not provide the context necessary to understand the racial, social and economic conflicts that began as soon as the initial euphoria over Noriega's ouster evaporated. Already, Arias Calderón has riled nationalist sentiment by taking the lead in leaving Panama without its own army, while Ford has led the charge to scrap Panama's highly evolved and protective labor legislation.

It was Noriega's life style that served as the foil for a stream of morality lessons from the U.S. press. Writing from Washington, James Gerstenzang of the *Los Angeles Times* opened his salvo with these words:

> Vats of blood. Animal Entrails. A picture of Adolf Hitler. Spike-heeled shoes. More than 100 pounds of cocaine. All were part of the bizarre scenes encountered by American troops as they stormed Noriega's inner sanctum.

It was Noriega's bad taste as well as his wealth that caught the eye of Joseph Treaster of *The New York Times*:

> As maximum leader of Panama, Gen. Manuel Noriega lived almost as garishly and as extravagantly as the Colombian drug traffickers who for years are said to have been his business partners.

Treaster, in the eleventh paragraph of his piece, does assert that while "most of General Noriega's wealth came from . . . Colombian drug traffickers," he is also "believed" to have "made tens of thousands of dollars as an operative" of the C.I.A.

Treaster is off by a hundredfold, however, as Noriega received, by the most conservative estimates, more than $1.2 million in payoffs from the C.I.A. just in the last ten years of his thirty-year relationship with the agency.

Yet Treaster's vastly understated estimate of Noriega's C.I.A. booty is the only suggestion among the 300 articles surveyed that the spy dollars spooned out by Washington may have helped feed the general's lavish life style. More typical of reporting on Noriega's corruption is Gerstenzang's piece, which not only avoids any reference to C.I.A. payoffs but also refrains from any comment at all on the relationship between the Company and Noriega. When *The Washington Post* published a prominent sidebar on the chronology of the U.S.-Panama conflict, there was no mention of Noriega's link to the C.I.A. Indeed, Noriega's name doesn't appear until a 1986 entry, and then only in connection with drug running.

Many journalists did refer to Noriega's historic relationship with the C.I.A., but almost all performed an intricate, cautious dance around the pressing question of what and when former agency Director George Bush knew about Noriega's alleged drug connection.

Bush had no more resolute an advocate than the *Los Angeles Times*'s Doyle McManus, who wrote what looked like a defense brief for the Chief Executive:

> [Noriega] has gleefully launched rumors that he holds some dark secret over the President's head, dating either from Bush's year as director of the C.I.A. or from his eight years as vice-president. . . . But despite two years of rumors and allegations, no evidence has surfaced to support the idea of a secret Bush-Noriega connection.

Now, six months after the invasion, and though U.S. troops continue to occupy the country, the Panama story—like a discardable, low-rated sitcom—has virtually disappeared from public view. There have been a few stories about President Endara's short-lived hunger strike, a report or two (but no follow-ups) about possible drug money laundering by banks associated with Vice President Guillermo Ford, some mention of ongoing U.S. troop maneuvers in the countryside and some exclusively Washington-based reporting on the political football the U.S. aid package to Panama has become. But the underlying causes and long-term effects of the invasion are still withheld from the American people.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion OH 43305

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1-800-669-1002*

8:30 am to 8:30 pm EST

*Please note this number is for subscriber inquiries only.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH APOLOGIES TO PYGMALION

GIVE ME THE PRICE OF ONE
AIRCRAFT CARRIER GROUP

PLUS

10,000 LITTLE BLACK MISFITS
FROM THE GHETTO SEWER

AND

IN 30 YEARS I WILL BRING YOU:
1,000 EINSTEINS AND 9 NOBEL LAUREATES

GUARANTEED! NO IFS, ANDS OR BUTS

—NICHOLAS STEPHEN POLUHOFF

P.S. $C_{77}H_{98}O_{33}N_{14}S$

P.P.S. TOO LOW THEY BUILD WHO BUILD
BENEATH THE STARS

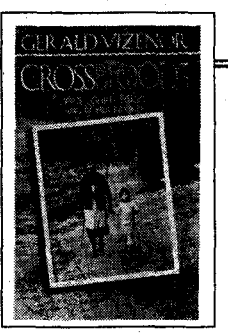
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"GERALD VIZENOR
THE ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER
OF THE CHIPPEWA" *Alan Velie*

INTERIOR LANDSCAPES
Autobiographical Myths and Metaphors
GERALD VIZENOR

Gerald Vizenor writes about his experiences as a tribal mixedblood; his contentions with institutions and imposed histories; his encounters as a community advocate, journalist for the *Minneapolis Tribune*, university teacher, and novelist.

cloth $17.95



CROSSBLOODS
Bone Courts, Bingo, and Other Reports
GERALD VIZENOR

Gerald Vizenor is one of the few American Indian mixedbloods who has had a significant career as a journalist. *Crossbloods* contains essays on reservation treaties, bingo as a cash crop, and bone courts to protect tribal remains; cultural schizophrenia; an editorial series on the rise of the American Indian Movement; articles on crossblood identities; and a critical review essay on the Mystic Warrior, a television film based on the novel *Hanto Yo* by Ruth Beebe Hill.

paper $14.95

and two novels:
BEARHEART: The Heirship Chronicles
and
GRIEVER: An American Monkey King in China

At bookstores or order toll free
800/388-3863 VISA and MasterCard
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS
2037 University Avenue, S. E., Minneapolis 55414

Perhaps, when (or if) Noriega's trial begins, and the second tidal wave of reporting on Panama engulfs our consciousness, the press will finally clear up the history of our relations with that country and the details of U.S. official complicity with the general. And then again, maybe it won't. □

BLACK STATE UNIVERSITIES

Separatism Down South

ADAM NOSSITER

Montgomery, Ala.

A curious stepchild of old-fashioned Southern segregation has surfaced below the Mason-Dixon line of late, and not in nursing homes or at the pathetic gatherings of leftover white supremacists. The new advocates of an odd mirror image of this old doctrine are to be found in the region's traditionally black state universities. Advocates of black public universities in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, engaged in long-running court fights over the desegregation of their states' higher-education systems, are taking stands of varying toughness in favor of taxpayer-supported, single-race universities.

Keeping political control over black public universities has supplanted desegregation as a key goal of many black officials in the heartland of civil rights country. Behind the fight for control are separatist arguments with disturbing implications for the future of integration in American higher education. The most explicit example has come from Southern University of Louisiana, which last summer surprised the civil rights community by appealing a New Orleans federal court order to desegregate. The Supreme Court put the plan temporarily on hold at Southern's request. Ironically, the black university got its wish over the objections of the three justices most sympathetic to civil rights causes—William Brennan, Thurgood Marshall and Harry Blackmun. The case is now back in a lower court. Whichever way it is resolved, the final outcome will have important implications for the future of desegregation.

Southern is dispensing with the integrationist position staked out for years by the civil rights struggle. The black university's lawyers argue that if it is still segregated (and with a 90 percent black enrollment, nobody is arguing that it isn't), this has come about through student choice and is not the fault of the state. The federal court thus had no business imposing a desegregation plan.

Southern's surprising shift has not gone unnoticed. The black university, the federal court noted, "is perhaps less concerned with desegregation than with maintaining its power as a political institution of the State." This view—that

Adam Nossiter is a reporter for the Atlanta Journal & Constitution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clinging to political power rather than achieving desegregation has become paramount for schools like Southern—is held by some lawyers for the state governments that oppose the schools in these endless court battles.

In fact, large numbers of jobs are threatened every time a Southern governor talks about shutting down black state universities or merging them with predominantly white ones. Alabama State University, for instance, has almost twice as many employees per student as neighboring predominantly white schools. It has been successfully sued for discriminating against white faculty. At Southern University, the Louisiana Inspector General has found payroll padding, pervasive discrimination against nonblack faculty members and little effort to check the references and degrees of job applicants, among other problems.

On the other hand, there are legitimate historical sources for the current fight to preserve black public universities. For decades, one of white segregation's most effective tools for maintaining the status quo was to keep blacks uneducated. Even today, more than a quarter century after James Meredith was admitted to the University of Mississippi, that school and Louisiana State University are less than 10 percent black. So blacks in the South worry, with some justification, that the current dual system preserves one of their few chances of getting a university degree.

But the current case being made for these schools raises some troubling questions. Is state-supported segregation acceptable, even if that segregation is apparently voluntary? Should public money be used to prop up second-string universities for black students? To what extent is the state responsible for providing college degrees to black students who have been badly served by underfunded public schools?

At the very least, this latest wrinkle in the desegregation struggle casts doubt on whether integration has much of a future in this country. When Meredith said that integration was the biggest con job ever pulled on any group of people, he apparently was not just expressing the view of a professional eccentric.

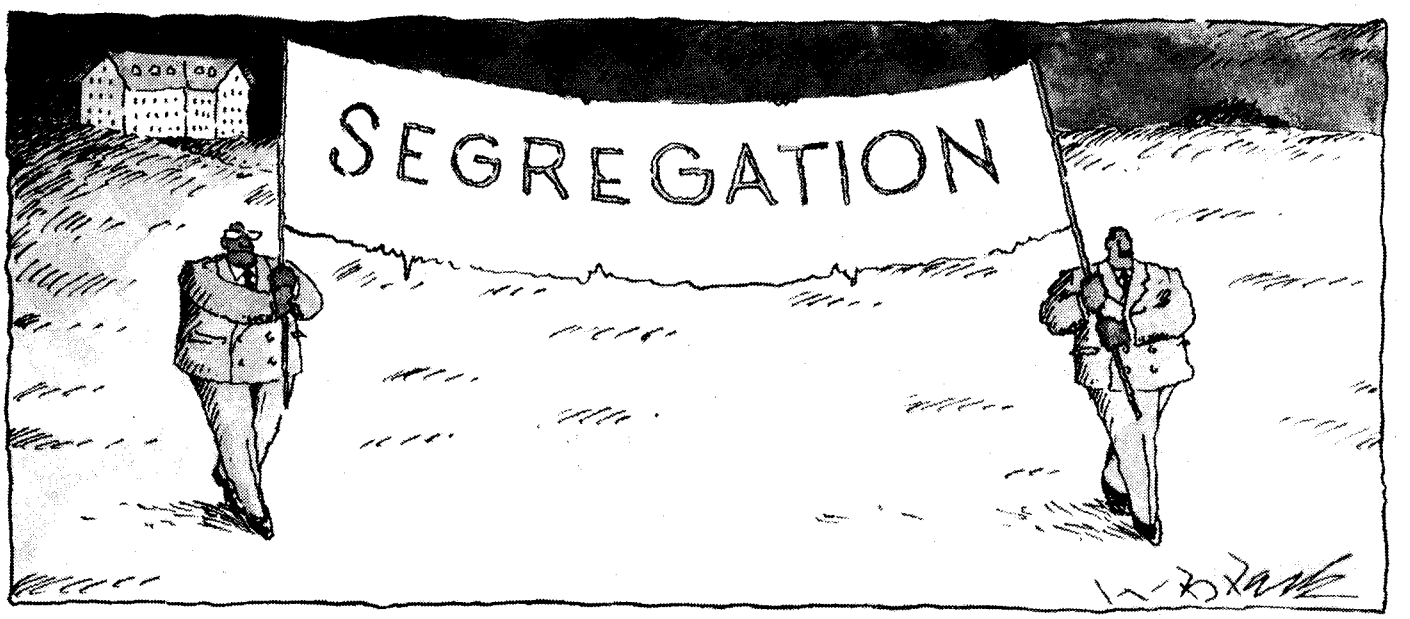
Neglected for years by segregationist white state governments, many of the South's black state universities have a forlorn air about them. Cracked and broken windows, peeling paint and shoddily constructed buildings are the norm. It's no wonder: In 1928, for example, the state of Alabama spent nearly thirty times as much on its white universities as on its black ones. In 1954 Mississippi spent less than 16 percent of its higher-education dollars on black colleges, even though almost half its population was black. At that time only 6.7 percent of the faculty at Jackson State University had doctorates.

Even after segregation's back was officially broken in the 1960s, white officials took steps to insure that black universities stayed second class—and segregated. Instead of pouring more money into Alabama State University in 1965, two years after George Wallace's stand in the schoolhouse door, Alabama established an entirely new institution, Auburn University at Montgomery, offering many of the same courses as Alabama State. White college students who couldn't afford to leave the area were thus spared the ordeal of having to attend university with blacks. By 1983, facilities at this new school were worth $32.6 million, while those at Alabama State, established 109 years earlier, were worth only $29 million.

Given this harsh history of discrimination, it is not surprising that black university officials are constantly pleading for more money. Only with more money, they say, can they hope to bring their universities up to par and desegregate them by attracting white students.

This argument appears to be at least partly disingenuous. It coexists uneasily with a strong pitch for separate but equal public higher education.

Their language is more polite than James Meredith's, but officials of Southern University have been echoing his denunciation of integration for months in attempts to head off the federal court's desegregation order. So, to a lesser extent, have advocates of black state universities in Alabama and Mississippi. These two states have not yet confronted far-reaching orders to desegregate, and advocates of black universities have not made the explicit arguments against de-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

segregation made by some Southern University officials. But at the same time some of their lawyers and officials, like those in Louisiana, have made a separatist case for black public education.

It is Southern University's officials, however, who have expressed most clearly that case. This 12,000-student system is the nation's largest black college. Southern has an open-admissions policy: Anyone with a high school diploma can get in. Ever since the Justice Department first sued the State of Louisiana over its segregated system of higher education in 1974, state officials have been squabbling in court over how to integrate Southern, a dinosaur legacy of white segregationist state government.

Finally, in 1988 a special panel of three federal judges in New Orleans ruled that seven years of pouring more money into Southern and another traditionally black school, Grambling University, had not worked. They were still segregated. The court directed a Special Master to come up with a new desegregation plan; last summer the court ordered that it be put into effect. Southern's governors were not pleased.

The plan called for an end to open admissions, threatening the last sure source of students for Southern, and the merger of its law school with the one at L.S.U. Apparently even more frightening to university officials was the court's proposal to get rid of the school's Board of Supervisors and replace it with one "superboard" of trustees over all of Louisiana's universities. In the federal court's view, four separate, competing boards over each of Louisiana's universities had helped to perpetuate segregation.

The idea that Southern's days as an independent fiefdom might be numbered provoked an impassioned response – more so, it must be said, than the prospect that black high school students in Louisiana might now find it more difficult to go to college if open admissions were ended. "In the minds of some students and faculty, the elimination of the Southern Board forebodes the elimination of Southern itself," wrote State Senator William Jefferson, Southern's lawyer, in a brief for the Supreme Court. (Jefferson, whose role in this case has been the object of criticism and scrutiny by the Governor's forces, holds a $195,000 contract with Southern for his legal services. At the same time he helps the university pay him this money by voting for its budget in the legislature.)

There are echoes in Jefferson's words of the Southern white segregationists of twenty-five years ago who criticized courageous integrationist federal judges. Jefferson attacks the "judicially imposed system" proposed by the Special Master and argues that the federal court has gone "impermissibly into the forbidden thicket of higher education policy-making." He doesn't explain why it was permissible for a federal court to order the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith in 1962 but not permissible for a court to order the integration of Southern in 1989.

If Southern is segregated, Jefferson argues, student choice, not the state, has made it that way: "The relative degree of integration of each institution of higher education does not determine whether the state has satisfied its affirmative duty to dismantle a dual system," Jefferson writes.

There is a curious logical inconsistency in Jefferson's argument. On the one hand, the state is not responsible for the fact that the university is virtually all black – so don't impose a desegregation order. On the other hand, the state *is* responsible for the absence of whites because of decades of official funding neglect – so it owes Southern more money. At this point one might begin to suspect that Jefferson and his fellow advocates have something other than desegregation on their minds. In fact, they unreservedly express the view, in court records and in interviews, that majority-black schools are the best places to educate black students.

"Historically, white colleges are not capable of addressing the needs of black students because whites are socially and culturally deprived of understanding the needs, desires, abilities and mores of black students," said Southern University's president, Delores Spikes, in a deposition. Alvin Chambliss, the lawyer for a group of blacks suing Mississippi in a higher-education desegregation lawsuit, explained, "We wanted to say, Look, we educate blacks better than you do, so why don't you just let us do it? . . . Our basic position is, we want to educate blacks. We make no bones about it."

These arguments ask us to reject integration, a fundamental public policy and human rights goal of much of the past four decades. In effect, the claim is that integration doesn't work and racial separation is better. Thirty-six years after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision, advocates of black public universities are saying the Court was wrong when it declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The brief for black plaintiffs in the Alabama desegregation lawsuit says, "TBIs [Traditionally Black Institutions] play an important 'psychocultural function' that promotes educational equality by erasing the stigma of inferiority." In some circumstances this is undoubtedly so, particularly at private black schools like Morehouse College in Atlanta.

But Morehouse does not pose the dilemma of whether racially segregated institutions should be embraced as a public policy goal. Clearly, Morehouse exists because students continue to choose it, not because politicians are fighting to preserve it. And it is much easier to argue that selective schools like Morehouse erase the stigma of inferiority than it is to make the same argument for the black public universities. In fact, it could be said that the black public universities are helping to perpetuate this stigma.

Entrance requirements at the black public schools are either nonexistent or very low. At Alabama State, which like Southern has open admissions, the mean composite A.C.T. score for entering freshmen has ranged from 9.3 to 10.5 in recent years. To put that in perspective, scores of 10 and 11 were considered "drastically low" by an expert witness for the federal government testifying in the Mississippi desegregation case. The mean A.C.T. score for all students in Alabama is 18.4. In Mississippi the minimum A.C.T. score at black schools is 13, although in 1986 schools were admitting students who scored as low as 9. More than 70 percent of white students score 15 or above.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In addition to having lower admissions standards, black universities are doing a poor job of making sure their students graduate. At Southern University's New Orleans campus, the graduation rate is 8.5 percent; at the Baton Rouge campus it is 25 percent. Graduation rates at Alabama State and Jackson State, in Mississippi, are around 40 percent. These percentages are about ten points lower than at majority-white institutions.

And while the handful of selective black schools are more in demand than ever, the same cannot be said for the black public universities. Even though flagship state institutions like the University of Mississippi and L.S.U. remain largely white, more and more black students in these states are attending mixed-race institutions. Over the past few years, 56 percent of black freshmen in Louisiana have attended majority-white institutions; in Alabama, the figure is between 50 and 60 percent; in Mississippi it is 30 percent.

Often, state attempts to tighten standards are seen as threats. In Mississippi, recent reform proposals by Governor Ray Mabus that would hold universities accountable for the performance of their students have the potential to do "great harm" to black schools, says Alice Harden, a black State Senator. Never mind the harm being done to young men and women who are being exploited with false hopes. Many enter black state schools with promises of a chance to complete a university education and get a meaningful degree. These promises are questionable.

In their present form the black state universities are perpetuating second-rate education for shrinking numbers of students. It is difficult to see how they can instill much pride. Unquestionably, black students continue to be victimized by poverty and inferior public schooling, but are they really helped by institutions that deliberately maintain low standards?

Clearly, the answer is *not* to shut these institutions down. Some way must be found to preserve educational opportunities for black students who have been forced to attend some of the nation's worst public schools. Perhaps, as the concomitant to integrating the present separate and unequal systems, remedial programs could be beefed up. Institutions that are now four-year schools could be turned into remedial schools—which some black public universities already are in fact, if not in status and funding. States with extensive junior college networks, like Alabama, could be encouraged to recruit more underprepared minority students. And clearly, the drive to reform secondary education—very much alive in Mississippi, if not in Louisiana and Alabama—will help.

While taking care that underprepared black students are not further victimized, we should be skeptical of the pleas of politicians and university bureaucrats of dubious motivation. They argue for enhancing the status quo, and they turn their back on an ideal which, however unwillingly, their own state governments have been forced to accept in the post-civil rights era. This is not the time for state governments to foster resegregation. Nor can poor southern states afford two university systems, one for whites and one for blacks.

Nobody—neither the racist white politicians of twenty-

SUBSCRIBING TO OUR PRINCIPLES ISN'T ENOUGH.

You should be subscribing to our magazine, too.

Because week in and week out *The Nation* brings you the likes of Katha Pollitt, Edward Sorel and Christopher Hitchens in every issue.

They're not only some of the best writers and illustrators around—they do their best work for us.

The Nation.

YES! I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO YOUR MAGAZINE, TOO. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a saving of 64% off the newsstand price and 18% off the regular price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a full refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ My payment is enclosed.

☐ Please bill me later.

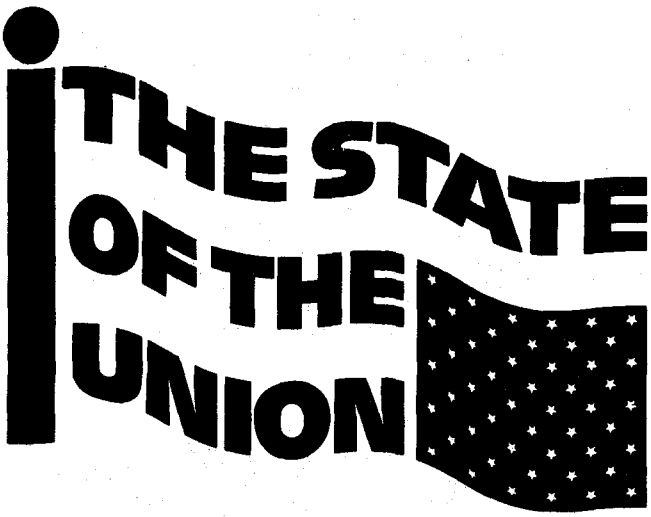
For new subscribers only.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues. Air Mail rates available upon request. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

D0F3S-2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Nation Associates Pacifica Radio The *Express*

and Bay Area independent bookstores

Black Oak Cody's City Lights Kepler's
Modern Times Printers Inc Walden Pond

in cooperation with

the University of California Graduate School of Journalism

present

a unique summer evening of
daunting wit and dauntless spirit

A 125th Birthday Bash for *The Nation*

our most enduring journal of dissent

starring

Gore Vidal

"our greatest living man of letters" —*Boston Globe*

author of some 30 books (*Burr, Lincoln, 1876, Empire, Hollywood, Washington DC*), *Nation* contributing editor

Barbara Ehrenreich

author, *Fear of Falling, The Worst Years of Our Lives*;
columnist, *Mother Jones, Ms., The Atlantic*

Molly Ivins

Nation contributing editor;
columnist, *The Progressive*, Dallas *Times Herald*, ACLU, *New York Times*

Eva Jefferson Paterson

chair/Bay Area Coalition for Civil Rights; chair/Board of Equal Rights;
assistant director/SF Lawyers' Committee for Urban Affairs

Larry Bensky

national affairs correspondent, Pacifica Radio;
writer, *The Nation*, the *Express*, SF *Bay Guardian*

& Altazor

Redwoods Records recording artists
Bob Baldock, Servant of Ceremonies

Saturday, June 30, 8:00

Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley
Bancroft & Telegraph, Berkeley

tickets: Sliding scale, $8–$25

tickets available at:
Black Oak, City Lights, Cody's, Kepler's, KPFA,
Modern Times, Printers Inc, Walden Pond

Information: (415) 848-6767 (KPFA)

A Benefit for *The Nation* and KPFA

five years ago nor the advocates of black public universities today—has offered anything like a convincing refutation of the declaration at the core of the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision: "To separate [black children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." □

U.S. Military

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

tanks, planes and warships than in the past. The threat from the South, on the other hand, is said to be growing—and with it, the need for light and medium forces geared to future Third World "contingencies."

These contingencies, in Washington's view, run the gamut from counterinsurgency operations of the sort now under way in El Salvador and punitive raids and strikes such as those mounted against Grenada and Libya, to full-scale military intervention of the type seen in Panama. At its extreme such action could entail direct military involvement in major regional conflicts—a situation approximated by U.S. naval action in the Persian Gulf during the final years of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The Bush Administration has not yet issued a formal articulation of its emerging military strategy, but the broad outlines of this policy can be found in major presidential policy statements. "Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order," Bush told graduating cadets at the Coast Guard Academy in 1989, "*but the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone.*" [Emphasis added.] He said the emergence of regional powers equipped with sophisticated weapons "is rapidly changing the strategic landscape," forcing Washington to contend with a new array of deadly perils. Furthermore, "the world faces increasing threat from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and . . . narcotics traffickers." In response to those challenges, Bush avowed, "we and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world."

There is considerable evidence that the Pentagon has already begun the difficult task of restructuring U.S. forces to perform the strategic mission sketched out by President Bush. Although heavy tank divisions and accompanying air units committed to NATO are now targeted for significant reductions, Cheney plans few, if any, cutbacks in the Special Forces, the Army's light and airmobile divisions, the Navy's carrier- and amphibious-assault squadrons, and other "power-projection" forces. "We're still going to want to deal with out-of-area [i.e., non-NATO] contingencies," he explained on January 29. "We are going to want to continue to main-

Michael T. Klare, the Five College Associate Professor of Peace and World Security Studies, based at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, is defense correspondent for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain maritime superiority. *That requirement is not going to go away.*" [Emphasis added.]

Those indications of the Pentagon's emerging posture belie the accusations by Administration critics that the White House lacks a coherent strategic vision for the post–cold war epoch. "There is a strategy blank" in the Pentagon's fiscal 1991 budget, Senator Sam Nunn charged on March 22. Although it is true that the Pentagon's 1991 procurement plan suggests a continued focus on the Soviet threat, with large sums going to costly and sophisticated military systems, most of these weapons were originally developed several years ago, and programs of this sort cannot be terminated in midstream without arousing powerful corporate and political constituencies. But this does not mean the Administration lacks a vision of the emerging strategic landscape; in fact, it is evident that a coherent and consistent policy outlook is now taking root at all levels of the Pentagon hierarchy.

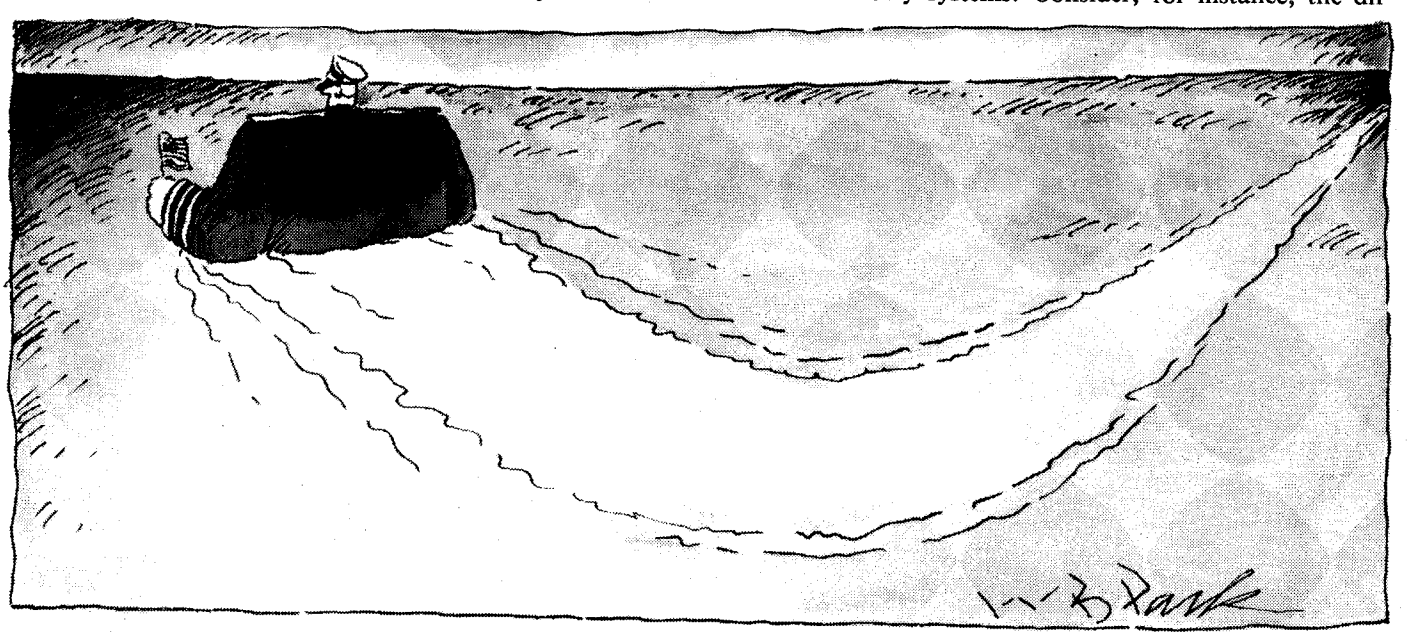
The new outlook is an amalgam of two major strategic concerns that initially surfaced in the Reagan period. The first, low-intensity conflict (L.I.C.), had been accorded a very low priority in the 1970s following the debacle in Vietnam, but it acquired fresh significance in the early 1980s as U.S. leaders renewed their interest in regional Third World conflicts—especially those involving Soviet-backed forces or regimes. As part of a larger drive against "Marxist-Leninist" forces, the United States stepped up its counter-insurgency operations in El Salvador and the Philippines, and the C.I.A. was authorized to conduct covert paramilitary operations against pro-Soviet regimes in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia and elsewhere.

Reagan elevated L.I.C. to a major military priority in his second term, when Administration interest shifted from the nuclear arms race to the global struggle against pro-Soviet forces and regimes in the South. Recognizing that neither Moscow nor Washington could be expected to risk Armageddon by provoking a war in Europe, the Administration came to see L.I.C. as the principal arena for East-West competition in the contemporary world. "The very success of our efforts in deterring nuclear and major conventional aggression has driven Soviet efforts . . . toward more ambiguous forms of aggression," Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger explained in 1987. Terrorism, subversion and other forms of L.I.C. had become "the warfare of choice" for Moscow and its Third World allies, he said, constituting "a permanent aspect of the 'long twilight struggle' between democracy and its enemies."

Out of this perception came a determined Administration drive to enhance U.S. capabilities for L.I.C. The Special Forces were revived and expanded, and the Army laid the groundwork for the formation of four new light infantry divisions. The Navy, meanwhile, undertook a 30 percent increase in its amphibious-assault capabilities, and the Air Force planned a major increase in its intercontinental airlift capacity. On top of this the Pentagon conducted a major review of L.I.C. doctrine and issued new directives, manuals and training circulars [see Klare, "The New U.S. Strategic Doctrine," December 28, 1985/January 4, 1986].

Although directed initially at Marxist guerrillas and pro-Soviet regimes, L.I.C. forces and doctrine entered a new dimension in the late 1980s when antinarcotics operations were added to the Pentagon's sphere of responsibilities. In announcing a major military effort in this arena on September 18, 1989, Cheney ordered the military services to step up their drug-interdiction efforts in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and sent additional U.S. military advisers into the cocaine-producing areas of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru [see Klare, "Fighting Drugs With the Military," January 1].

Although, as Cheney puts it, "low-intensity conflict continues to be the most likely form of violence involving U.S. interests," the threat of mid-intensity conflict (M.I.C.), or combat involving major Third World powers, has also risen to the top of the Pentagon's agenda. In contrast to L.I.C., which normally entails combat with guerrillas or small-fry military forces, M.I.C. involves combat with large professional armies that are equipped with a full array of modern military systems. Consider, for instance, the dif-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ferences between the Panamanian Defense Forces and the Iraqi army: Whereas the former had about 10,000 soldiers with no tanks or missiles and only four propeller-driven combat planes, the latter consists of approximately 1 million battle-tested soldiers equipped with 5,500 tanks, ballistic missiles armed with chemical weapons and 660 modern jet fighters. Given those statistics it is no wonder that the United States had little difficulty in overcoming the P.D.F.; any significant clash with Iraq, however, would expose American forces to very high levels of risk (as was demonstrated by the near-sinking of the U.S.S. Stark by a single Iraqi missile in 1987).

The threat posed by Iraq and other well-equipped Third World powers first emerged as a major U.S. concern shortly after the 1988 election. "The Soviet Union is certainly not our only focus," Director of Central Intelligence William Webster observed in December of that year. "Another major concern is the proliferation of advanced weapons, particularly ballistic missiles." By the year 2000, he predicted, "at least 15 developing countries will either have produced or be able to build their own ballistic missiles." Furthermore, another twenty or so Third World countries are developing chemical weapons, providing themselves with "a cheap and readily obtainable means of addressing the military balance against more powerful foes."

When first articulated, the M.I.C. threat was described by the Bush Administration principally as an arms control challenge for the United States, to be addressed at the bargaining table in major international negotiations. "Arms control should encompass conventional and chemical weapons and ballistic missile proliferation," Secretary of State James Baker noted in 1989, "going beyond expressions of general principles to practical details." As time went on, however, the Administration began to identify the emergence of regional powers as a military threat, which eventually would be faced on the battlefield rather than at the bargaining table. "We will continue to work hard to prevent this dangerous proliferation [of sophisticated weapons]," President Bush affirmed on February 7. "But one thing is certain: We must be ready for its consequences. And we will be ready."

To be "ready" for confrontation with missile-armed Third World powers will entail a very different sort of military posture than that designed for low-intensity conflict. Whereas L.I.C. operations are normally conducted by Special Operations Forces, paratroopers and other lightly armed units, mid-intensity conflict emphasizes mechanized units, artillery and modern strike aircraft. Emerging Third World powers "cannot be overcome with inadequate weapons and mobility," Lieut. Col. Peter Herrly of the U.S. Joint Staff observed in January 1989. To defeat these powers will require "superior tactical mobility and devastating lethality."

THE NATION PUBLISHING INTERNSHIPS. The Nation Institute in cooperation with *The Nation* sponsors a comprehensive intern program for students and recent college graduates interested in magazine journalism. Applicants should send a cover letter and résumé, two writing samples and two recommendations to: The Nation Internship Program, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

The emerging requirement for an M.I.C. capability has provided the Defense Department with a new rationale for the maintenance of high-technology forces in a post-cold war environment. "We [face] challenges beyond Europe that may place significant demands on our defense capabilities," Secretary Cheney observed in January. "The changing requirements and new roles and missions assumed by U.S. forces will require strategies that rely more heavily on mobile, highly ready, well-equipped forces and solid power-projection capabilities." Such capabilities, he indicated, include many of the same types of systems that were originally designed for combat with the Soviet Union—modern tanks, missiles and aircraft.

What we are seeing, then, is the emergence of a defense posture focused on internal and regional conflicts in the Third World, entailing the use of light forces designed for L.I.C. operations as well as heavier forces intended for mid-intensity engagements. Unifying this patchwork policy is the perception that hostile forces in the Third World—whether they be insurgents, drug traffickers or major regional powers—represent a large and growing threat to U.S. security. And because these potential enemies can strike at any time and in any location, Pentagon strategists believe we need a wide array of combat-ready forces that can be deployed when and where needed to protect U.S. interests. "In the future," Bush said recently, "we will need to be able to thwart aggression, repel a missile, or protect a sealane or stop a drug lord." To do all this, moreover, "we will need forces adaptable to conditions everywhere. And we will need agility, readiness, sustainability."

This, in essence, constitutes the blueprint for the U.S. military establishment in the 1990s. Rebuilding the armed services along these lines will, of course, take time—a supertanker cannot be turned around quickly. But there is no doubt that the shrewder heads among the Pentagon's top brass are already moving in this direction.

Thus, under the leadership of Chief of Staff Gen. Carl Vuono the Army is recasting itself as a global "power-projection" force that is prepared for any type of overseas contingency. Army forces are "capable of projecting prompt and sustained military power anywhere in the world," Vuono asserted last year. Spearheading the Army's power-projection capability will be the XVIII Corps at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, consisting of the 82d Airborne Division and the 101st Airmobile Division. Another strike force consisting of units based in Korea, Hawaii and Alaska will be configured for operations in Asia and the Pacific.

Not to be outdone by its archrival, the Army, the Marine Corps is also positioning itself as a potent power-projection force. To emphasize the point, units assigned to overseas combat duty have had their designation changed from "Marine Amphibious Forces" to "Marine Expeditionary Forces," the title they had prior to World War II. This name change is intended to reassert the Marines' role as an overseas strike force, Marine Commandant Gen. Alfred Gray explained. "I want every marine and sailor who serves with us to keep in mind that this is our reason for being and that the return to expeditionary designations for our task units is in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tended to reinforce this sense of purpose," he noted.

The Navy is also devoting renewed attention to its power-projection capabilities, especially its aircraft carriers and amphibious-assault ships. "In day to day operations, globally deployed units of the Navy and Marine Corps confer upon the United States a unique ability to affect world events in support of our national objectives," Secretary of the Navy H. Lawrence Garrett 3d observed in January. This argument has found particular favor with Cheney, who has expressed great reluctance to reduce the U.S. carrier fleet by more than one or two vessels. Carriers are "an important peacetime asset," Cheney noted on January 29. "Every time we get into a scrape some place the first thing I'm asked is where is the nearest aircraft carrier."

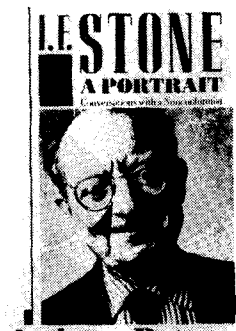
All of these plans and justifications will, of course, have to be submitted to Congress for its review and approval. In the process, some items on the Pentagon's wish list will undoubtedly go by the wayside. It is highly unlikely, for instance, that Congress will approve the thirteen- or fourteen-ship carrier force desired by Cheney and the Navy; a more likely figure is ten or twelve ships, as proposed by Senator Nunn. The fact is, however, that Congress has proved to be relatively receptive to a post-cold war strategy based on protection from rebellious forces in the Third World.

The need to "project power into other regions and maintain access to distant markets and resources" remains as vital as ever, Senator William Cohen, a member of the Armed Services Committee, observed recently. While it might be possible to make some modest cuts in our existing military capability, this mission "will become significantly more important" in the years ahead. This view is shared by Nunn, who favors huge cuts in our Europe-based forces but seeks to retain a significant (if somewhat slimmer) capability for power-projection operations.

This emerging consensus on the need for a robust power-projection capability has profound consequences for the United States and the world. For one thing, it will significantly reduce the chances of America's reaping a substantial "peace dividend" from the end of the cold war. While a posture based exclusively on low-intensity conflict could probably be sustained with a relatively small military establishment, a posture that also encompasses mid-intensity operations against major regional powers like Iraq will obviously require a much larger force, one that is equipped with sophisticated and costly weapons.

More worrisome, of course, is the risk that such a posture will lead to increased U.S. military involvement in regional Third World conflicts. Indeed, the Administration's record in this regard is none too promising: In only fifteen months in office President Bush has used armed force to topple an unfriendly regime in Panama, to suppress an unwelcome coup in the Philippines and to intensify antinarcotics operations in the Andean nations. Whether we will see further moves of this sort in the months and years ahead cannot, of course, be determined at this point; there is no question, however, that both the President's public statements and the Pentagon's formal military planning envision a more active U.S. military role in the Third World. □

"A literary 'My Dinner With Izzy.'"
–The Cleveland Plain Dealer



Andrew Patner

"Izzy Stone is an American phenomenon, and Andrew Patner's book about him is phenomenally good."

–Ben Bagdikian
Dean, Graduate School of Journalism
University of California, Berkeley

Now available in paperback

For many Americans, I. F. Stone, author of the bestselling *The Trial of Socrates*, was the conscience of investigative journalism, as well as the most perceptive political analyst of our time.

In I. F. STONE: A PORTRAIT Stone reveals, in his own words, the vibrant enthusiasm at the heart of his life and work.

ANCHOR BOOKS

USSR

Join NY Ethical Culture Society leader & members, for summer tour of USSR. Focus on People & Perestroika: cultural events and exchanges, sponsored by Soviet Gov't.

July 22-Aug. 5
$2,335 all inclusive
also w/ Sputnik
Aug. 2-16 tour
$1,790 sdnt. price

Black Sea & Dnieper Cruise
Leningrad & Moscow
Odessa & Kiev

Sputnik USSR/ Impact Tours, NYC
Progressive travel to USSR (212) 663 5915

Palestine Focus

"Palestine Focus has been a valuable source of news and analysis on matters relating to the Palestinians, often providing information and insights not easily available elsewhere." – Noam Chomsky

JOIN OVER 20,000 READERS NATIONWIDE WHO AGREE !

Subscription Rates: (bimonthly, six issues per year)
☐ $10 (U.S. 1st class, Canada and Mexico)
☐ $15 (Overseas Airmail) ☐ $20 (Institutions)
Name _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
PALESTINE FOCUS • P.O.B. 27462 • San Fran., CA 94127 • (415) 861-1552

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Semi-Fictional Solution

DAVID KAUFMAN

Back when such a distinction was still meaningful, Virginia Woolf contrasted the novelist's freedom with the biographer's bondage. "The novelist is free; the biographer is tied," Woolf wrote as part of a larger argument in which she conjectured, "Could not biography produce something of the intensity of poetry, something of the excitement of drama, and yet also keep the peculiar virtue that belongs to fact—its suggestive reality, its own proper creativeness?"

As a pioneer of the modernist movement, Woolf was herself involved in a somewhat playful experiment that toyed with these once efficient categories to break new ground. But if such labels were already beginning to seem quaint to Woolf, for us they have become all but obsolete. In ways that even she couldn't have anticipated, there were perhaps reasons to be afraid of Virginia Woolf after all. Little could she have known that long after images supplanted words, the reality that both set out to capture would become increasingly polluted and remote—and that, in these respects, the modernists' playground would become our battlefield.

When it comes to literature, surely there has always been a healthy and active exchange between what is real and what is imagined. But in an era that corrupts the difference and blurs the lines of distinction—where, for example, manufactured or simulated news "events" can be presented and mistaken for the real thing—this very ambiguity is what our literature has increasingly come to reflect, with occasionally fascinating results.

One thinks, for instance, of E.L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel* and *Ragtime*, or the numerous novels of Gore Vidal that likewise combine real with fabricated characters. Another curious case is posed by Philip Roth, whose professed fictions (such as the newly released *Deception*) become self-reflective games for the reader to sort out, begging the issue of categorization. Then too, there are problems to contend with in the futile attempt to classify a book such as *In Cold Blood* (even as it fulfilled Woolf's mandate, such confusion was part of Truman Capote's ambition after all) or Lillian Hellman's *Pentimento*. But no matter how we approach the inherent questions, only half a century after D.H. Lawrence advised us to "trust the tale and not the teller," the dilemma entails dimensions he failed to foresee. While our novelists are investing their energies in a level of research that used to be reserved for scholars (Tom Wolfe has argued that this is in fact the future of the novel), our writers of nonfiction are stretching their methods to encompass creative license. The recent spate of fictional biographies is an implicit acknowledgment that long-held barriers are eroding with a vengeance. In addition to Ella Leffland's *The Knight, Death and the Devil* and W.D. Wetherell's *Chekhov's Sister*, one might also consider Michael Herr's *Walter Winchell* and Jay Parini's *The Last Station*, the latter due out next month.

IN THIS REVIEW

CHEKHOV'S SISTER. *By W.D. Wetherell. Little, Brown. 343 pp. $17.95.*

THE KNIGHT, DEATH AND THE DEVIL: A Novel of a Life Corrupted by Evil. *By Ella Leffland. William Morrow. 718 pp. $22.95.*

THE LAST STATION. *By Jay Parini. Forthcoming from Henry Holt. 304 pp. $21.95.*

WALTER WINCHELL. *By Michael Herr. Knopf. 158 pp. $18.95.*

As readers will see when Parini's book becomes available, the focus on Tolstoy's final year of life in *The Last Station* becomes an ideal vehicle for pursuing the modernists' obsession with perspective, and for demonstrating that truth is addressable only as a multifaceted phenomenon. Not unlike Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier* or Lawrence Durrell's *The Alexandria Quartet* (or, for that matter, classic films such as *Rashomon* and *Citizen Kane*), *The Last Station* employs a fugue of various viewpoints and shifting voices to derive a sense of the infuriating contradictions that described Tolstoy in 1910. The most famous concerns Tolstoy's renunciation of his aristocratic background and wayward past in favor of an ascetic existence. This paradox is played out amidst a central conflict regarding the future status of Tolstoy's estate, with his wife, Sonya, pleading to retain copyright ownership, against the wishes of Tolstoy and his disciples to make his work more readily available via public domain.

In an afterword, Parini reveals that his inspiration for *The Last Station* came from discovering numerous diaries kept by "members of Tolstoy's inner circle" who recorded their semi-conflicting impressions of the same events. What evolves is a casebook exploration of the prismatic nature of reality, the sense that if there is any truth then it is manifold.

On another hand, Herr's approach to Walter Winchell, the omnipotent American gossipmonger of the 1930s and 1940s, may simply be too peculiar to belong in this discussion of writers who have deliberately turned to fiction as a meaningful way of apprehending truth. In a rather equivocal and defensive preface, Herr divulges that his book was originally intended as a screenplay. But he adds that he views

> this exercise in generic labeling not only awkward and distasteful, but very difficult.
>
> Even though *Walter Winchell* is based on the life of a real man and often uses his actual words, it's a fiction, and it's in prose. So it must be a prose fiction. You could call it a screenplay that's typed like a novel, that reads like a novel but plays like a movie. Maybe it's a completely new form, or a wrinkle on an old form, or a mongrel.

Be all that as it may, one detects a certain amount of dissembling occurring there in the focus on semantics: both to avoid saying that this "mongrel" was rejected by the producers for whom it was written as a screenplay, and to justify the publisher's decision to present it as a novel instead. What emerges for the reader in any case is more a novelty than a novel, an outline or a blueprint that remains, in Herr's words, "more in the nature of a diagram than a narrative," and

David Kaufman, theater critic of Downtown, *is working on a biography of Charles Ludlam. His book reviews appear frequently in* Newsday *and* The New York Times Book Review.

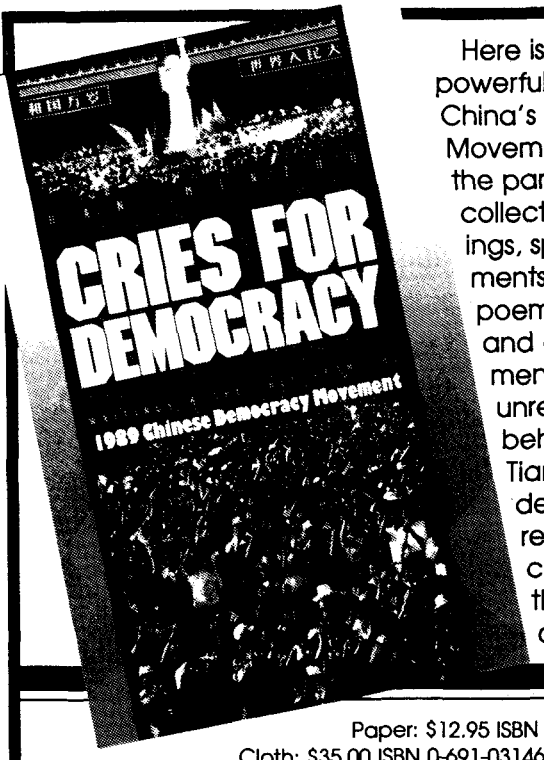
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

therefore requires a cinematic interpretation if Herr's designs are to be realized.

Though categorically elliptical, a portrait of sorts manages to take shape, a between-the-lines account of Winchell, the school dropout and ex-vaudevillian who used his nationally syndicated column and radio broadcasts to become one of the most influential figures in midcentury America. But unless one plays the casting game and imagines a De Niro, a Nolte or a Malkovich in the role, Winchell remains vacant. What comes through is Herr's contempt for him and for his merciless manipulation of all those who enter his realm—from P.R. lackeys and Broadway performers to gangsters and politicians, and finally the American public itself. Nor is Herr's disdain really relieved by the pathetic depiction of Winchell's waning years, when the columnist pursued his rabid redbaiting long after public opinion had shifted away from McCarthy and his henchmen. As the screenplay's prospective producers apparently concluded, Herr has provided us with a cipher instead of a character (confined here to something that is hardly the felicitous screenplay-cum-novel amalgamation that he hoped it might be).

While Herr may have expected, in our image-bite age, to capture his biographical subject with something less than a novel, Ella Leffland explains why something more is required. In an author's note on her novelized biography of Hermann Göring and his involvement in the Nazi regime, she explains that "the novel, with its layered interworkings of meaning, was the only form appropriate to the complexities and incongruities of Göring's character," and again that "the novel offers a dimension of human truth which the work of history cannot."

Though Leffland's argument is as old as the novel itself, her reasons for making it have acquired an applicability and an urgency that are new. The point is made explicit in Wetherell's *Chekhov's Sister*, as a key character persuasively argues that words alone have lost their power to persuade in a century that has borne witness to abominations to which we seem to have become dangerously immune. Indeed, the phrasings most often invoked to describe the Holocaust—words like "unspeakable" and "unimaginable"—suggest that straight reporting or the nonfiction approach is insufficient, and that the catharsis only fiction or a work



Here is a vital look at the powerful and tragic story of China's 1989 Democracy Movement in the words of the participants. Its rich collection of translated writings, speeches, and documents—posters, handbills, poems, movement articles and government statements—chronicles the unrest and determination behind the scenes in Tiananmen Square. A descriptive history of recent social and political life in China weaves the writings into a compelling narrative.

Paper: $12.95 ISBN 0-691-00857-4
Cloth: $35.00 ISBN 0-691-03146-0

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR
Princeton University Press
41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 258-4900
ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)

"The best inside look we'll have until Gorbachev writes his memoirs."
—STEPHEN ROSENFELD, *The Washington Post*

Two veteran Moscow correspondents probe the influences that shaped Gorbachev's character, the political forces that determine his actions, and the spirit of the nation now reeling under his reforms.

"Insightful. Timely. Gives context and perspective to the Gorbachev gamble."
—DAN RATHER

"Essential to an understanding of [today's] Russian turmoil."
—*Publishers Weekly*

© A. Nogues-Sygma

GORBACHEV
HERETIC IN THE KREMLIN
DUSKO DODER —AND— LOUISE BRANSON

VIKING
Penguin USA

At bookstores now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

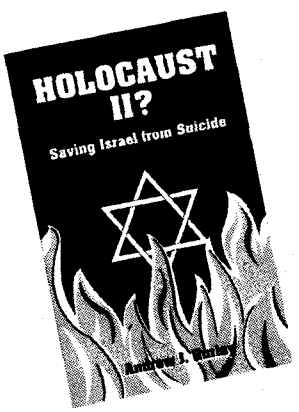
Vice President
Dan Quayle
What is he doing? Saying? Thinking? Forgetting?
Stay well-informed . . .

The Quayle Quarterly

"Witty, irreverent, informative, and just plain scary." -Inside Media

$12.00 for 1 year (4 issues)
$3.95 for a sample issue
The Quayle Quarterly
PO Box 8593T Brewster Station, Bridgeport, CT 06605

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
...a solution



For answers to the riddle of the Mid-East, *this is a book of revelations.*

Hardcover, 325 pages.
$22.95 plus $2.50 shipping=$25.45.
Send check or MC/Visa number and exp. date to **Mission Publishing, Box 1440, Santa Barbara, CA 93102**

of art can engender has become that much more critical.

The apparent focus in *Chekhov's Sister* is on the eponymous Maria, who forfeited her life in helping her brother. Set in Yalta, the once aristocratic seaside resort where the family house has become an official museum, the action hovers around 1941, thirty-seven years after Chekhov's death, and dwells on Maria's need to preserve her famous brother's legacy in the midst of the upheaval during the German occupation of the Soviet Union. The past and the future are also accommodated in the internal musings and memories of the various characters who are brought together for this pivotal moment.

As in a fiction by Chekhov, Wetherell's story more properly belongs to an ensemble of characters, fulfilling an essential Chekhovian point that history, too, belongs more to the people than to the leaders who move them along. The assembled cast includes Varka, Maria's servant; Diskau, the German minister of culture who aids Maria in reopening the Imperial Theater with a revival of *The Seagull*; and Nina, a captured Russian who was forced to become an S.S. whore but is later released to perform in the production. Next to Maria, however, the principal figure is Kunin, who inherited custodianship of Chekhov's estate upon Maria's death in 1957 and now reflects on the events of 1941 with all the profundity that hindsight can muster.

As Wetherell embeds his keenest perceptions in Kunin's eyes, "facts always distort the truth," and "any memory that survives forty years is a work of art. The same pain that made it so hard for Kunin to remember would, by its price, revise those memories that endured, pruning out the superfluous, eliminating the trivial, moving around details until the dross of what really happened became burnished with the gold of what really was." With an emphasis on Chekhov's subtlety and deadpan irony, Wetherell artfully duplicates Chekhovian effects while offering a breathtaking tale of his own, incorporating private intrigues and political subplots intermingled with real historical events. In an engrossing chapter aptly called "The Steppe," Nina earns the right to explain that "the worst part of suffering comes not during its middle but when it slackens." Now ensconced in Kunin's arms, she realizes that

> survival is a height and love is a higher one and from them I can see every dead soldier, every dead child, every dead Pole and Russian and Jew, every last pathetic victim of our century's puckered kiss, and as far as they extend it's not in endless circles but finite rings. . . . Somewhere in our tragic time the bodies end and we have to keep walking until they are past.

But it is Kunin, in another extended reverie, who offers the most telling justification for *Chekhov's Sister*, providing in the process a compelling rationale for what is to be gained by approaching the truth of human events from a fictional perspective: Official histories, he says, are "scrupulous in explaining what, but useless in explaining why," which is why "the historical approach was all wrong . . . history had lost itself in the brutal maze of the century." Operating on a multitude of levels at once, *Chekhov's Sister* is a major achievement and addition to contemporary literature. *The Knight, Death and the Devil* is perhaps less graceful but is equally adept at involving us in a period of history that has tended to become unreal for all the attention it has received.

At 718 dense pages, Leffland's book is a massive undertaking that has the sweep of a tome by Tolstoy and the engaging impact of Dickens—both of whom, not so incidentally, made copious use of real events in their fictions. Beyond fitting ten years of solid research into the pace of a novel, Leffland's most singular accomplishment is her uncanny ability to sustain the tension between life as it is lived and history as it has been recorded, drawing lines now parallel, now intersecting in compelling ways. To paraphrase this novel's subtitle, the evil that corrupts does so gradually, albeit relentlessly. And its gathering momentum is reinforced by Leffland's matter-of-fact tone, which makes the quotidian all the more chilling.

Generally perceived as the most fascinating and contradictory of the primary Nazi figures, the Göring who emerges from Leffland's portrait is not without his sympathetic qualities. His youth is rendered in ironic serenity, emphasizing the adoration of his parents and especially of his mother's Jewish lover, with whom the family lived periodically. Carrying a record as a dashing aviation hero from World War I, Göring comes across as "the most human of the German chiefs," who was to some extent opposed to the war and even known for his early tolerance of Jews. But he was also driven by self-interest, and he recognized in Hitler an opportunity for advancement, ultimately to become second in command.

The view we receive of him from Leff-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land, however, is predominately external, focusing as it does on his fluctuating weight, his escalating drug addiction, his tendency to change clothes seven times a day and run gems through his hands whenever nervous. Though Göring remains the centerpiece and his deterioration is as palpable as Germany's loss of the war, Leffland relies rather on other figures to relate their impressions of him and of the world they shared. Nikki—Göring's mother's maid—is among a number of fictional figures whose points of view will be visited time and again to track the rise and fall of the Reich from the pedestrian vantage point, going back to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. As Nikki's husband Hans experiences the glory of "the Reichsmarschall in the flesh," it was like being

> at the center of a storm, a great storm spreading all across Europe with its millions and millions of people who felt the strong wind in their faces; but the eye of the storm was calm, strangely calm, for all its bustle and clattering footsteps; and that was how you felt: a deep, deep calm, and a brightness of light, and happiness, because the pulse of power was like the deathless heartbeat of God, and you were in it, and of it.

Fiction also allows editorial commentary to be included organically, eliciting the significance of world events as they affect our lives. The one true voice of conscience in *The Knight, Death and the Devil* is Göring's stepson, Thomas, whose private journals become the repository for Leffland's loftier insights into the human condition. "And here in Germany," Thomas writes in 1934,

> I see on the one hand this exhilarating spirit and drive, and on the other the most unjustifiable tyranny and crushing excess. And I see that they both derive from the fanaticism, or impassioned ardor, of which I gave an example from today's newspaper. And I see that revision and reform may begin to take over now, and things may begin to straighten out; that's what all good people hope, and I must include myself among them. Yet I also see that in order for the excesses to disappear, so must the great passion.

By 1942, it is only because Thomas still has a conscience that he can write he "no longer" does.

Both *The Knight, Death and the Devil* and *Chekhov's Sister* have been written as if in defiance of the conventions of a real world that could have produced the Holocaust. The fact that these two books have proved among the most eloquent novels *or* biographies to emerge so far this year suggests that literature has perhaps surpassed a point of generic return, that a book today might best be a-fictional if it's to penetrate a reality-degraded atmosphere. (Ironically, there would appear to be far more veracity in these well-grounded fictions than there is in, say, Antoni Gronowicz's new and highly controversial "biography" *Garbo: Her Story.*) As Wetherell says in *Chekhov's Sister*, we need "to wrench back the language from the politicians and the dictators and the propagandists and so find the balm to assuage the pain." □

MUSIC.

EDWARD W. SAID

Wagner and the Met's *Ring*

This is the second spring in a row that the Metropolitan Opera has mounted three cycles of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (the "Nibelungen" in the title is not a plural and does not refer to the tribe of Nibelungs but to one Nibelung, Alberich, who steals the gold in the first scene of the first work in the gigantic tetralogy). It is an odd and certainly an unexpected feature of New York musical life that so large, risky and improbable a venture would be attempted by a house so addicted to the routine and the safe, but the cycles were attempted, and successfully to boot: Most performances were sold out, the crowds were generally enthusiastic, the performances on the whole satisfactory. This year's cycle was, I thought, more notable than last year's, although both times I attended the last, or J.V., cycle, the one in which stars like Jessye Norman and Hildegard Behrens did *not* sing.

Still, the production was the same each time, and the same conductor, James Levine, led all twenty-four performances, which adds up to approximately 432 podium hours, an almost unbelievably long time. Since the *Ring* is scarcely an easy or "natural" work to put across, Levine's sheer staying power and general accomplishment merit an acknowledgment of how serious and considerable an opera conductor he now is. That he has done his work mostly at the Met, unlike the maestros who traipse across innumerable stages with no significant commitment to any, is also a commendable achievement.

LOUDER THAN WORDS*

was supported by the following organizations, artists and booksellers to benefit the homeless

California: Los Angeles area
Homeless Writers Coalition
St. Joseph's Center shelter
Pen Center USA West
At My Place
Midnight Special Bookstore -Santa Monica-213-393-2923
Small World Books-Venice
Dutton's- Brentwood
Bread & Roses-Sherman Oaks-818-986-5376
Beyond Baroque-Venice
University of Southern California Bookstore-L.A.

Illinois: Chicago area
Artists Against Homelessness
Chicago Coalition for the Homeless
Illinois Crusaders Against Poverty
Chicago-Gary Area Union of the Homeless
Synergy Theatre
State Housing Action Coalition
Chicago Public Library Cultural Center
Guild Complex
Read Illinois
PEN Midwest
Chicago Local, National Writers Union
Guild Books -312-525-3667
Barbara's Books 642-5044
Seminary Co-op/57th St Books-752-1959
Bookstall at Chestnut Court-708-446-8880
Women & Children First 312-440-8824
U. of Chicago Bookstore 702-7712
Epicenter Bookstore, U of Ill. 413-4400
21st Century Books 538-2188
Childrens Bookstore 248-2665

Massachussetts: Cambridge
Barilari Books 617-864-2400
South Hadley
Odyssey Books 413-534-7307

Minnesota: Minneapolis
Odegards Books 612-338-3337

New Mexico: Albuquerque
Albuquerque Area Union of the Homeless
Salt of the Earth Books 505-842-1220

Ohio: Columbus
Borders Book Shop 614-451-2292
Dayton
Books and Company 614-436-8100

Pennsylvania: Philadelphia
Robins Bookstore Inc. 215-735-9600

Washington, D.C.
Chapters 202-861-1333
Olsons
Politics & Prose 364-1919

Wisconsin: Milwaukee area
Harry W Schwartz Bookshops 414-274-6400

* **Louder Than Words** is a collection of 22 stories, each a new work donated by its author to benefit Share Our Strength, a non-profit relief organization that aids the hungry and homeless. This book may be purchased at your local bookseller or through the booksellers listed above. Special thanks to Terre & Robin of Chapters for organizing the first reading; to Bill Shore for conceiving of the anthology; to the authors for their commitment and generosity; and to The Nation for donating this space.

This ad was co-ordinated by Guild Books in Chicago with the help of information provided by Vintage Books, the publisher of Louder than Words. We apologize for omissions & inaccuracies. Feedback is appreciated: Guild Books 2456 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Il 60614 312-525-3667

Support the authors, artists, organizations and booksellers that support 'Louder Than Words!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first gift and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO (Please print)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP
GIFT FROM (Your name)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $_____for_____subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION OH 43305

LD0F3S-6

That few excellent *other* conductors have appeared at the Met in a decade is also a result of Levine's resolute persistence. In any event, Levine's *Ring* has now been almost completely recorded on CD; on June 18, 19, 20 and 21 PBS will broadcast the entire cycle.

In every theatrical respect the Met's *Ring* is deliberately, purposefully, studiously "traditional." What this means is, as Donal Henahan, *The New York Times*'s chief music critic, noted with undisguised approbation, no austere Wieland Wagner–influenced conception of the kind, with its bare stage and immobile singers, that dominated postwar Bayreuth productions; and no *outré* Peter Sellars or Götz Friedrich–type production either, with the director as total star reinterpreter of Wagner's ideas. The Met's *Ring* was designed scenically by Günther Schneider-Siemssen and based on the uninteresting thesis that if Wagner said the stage was set in forest or river, he meant forest or river, not symbolic allusions to them. As for the overall production by Otto Schenk, it too was based on a dull faithfulness to what Wagner supposedly planned for the well-heeled German audiences of 1876.

The result is a curiously underdirected and rather half-baked dramatic experience, without real context or clear philosophical statement. You wonder why, in the name of literalism, the Met did produce the bear mentioned in Wagner's stage directions as a companion for the young Siegfried in Act I of the third opera, but not the horse (Grane) to which Brünnhilde actually introduces Siegfried in Act III. By the same token, you ask yourself what dramatic end is served when Wotan cradles the dying Siegmund in his arms (*Die Walküre*, Act II) despite Wagner's specific instructions that Wotan simply stares at the fallen hero from across the stage. Not that the sets themselves were inadequate or threadbare (one set—the falling Gibichung castle in *Die Götterdämmerung*—injured the star Brünnhilde, Hildegard Behrens, and kept her from the whole of the cycle I saw): They were perfectly fine, except that the studied reversion to them in an outdated earlier style called attention not to Wagner but to an ongoing polemic about how the late-twentieth-century opera house should try to stage nineteenth-century masterpieces. As a foray into that debate the Met's *Ring* is rather like the Conan movies serving as the basis for a discussion among anthropologists about the nature of the primitive.

But what one did in fact get *musically* was by no means trivial or inconsiderable, partly because the *Ring* is so huge and rare an undertaking, partly because just to see it in its unfolding is so astonishingly powerful as an aesthetic experience, no matter how simple-minded the production. Wagner began work on the tetralogy in the late 1840s but did not complete work on it until 1874, after a long interruption in the middle of *Siegfried* when he wrote *Tristan und Isolde* and *Die Meistersinger*. The four operas—*Das Rheingold* (a one-act prelude), *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*—were given for the first time in 1876 at the Festspielhaus specially built by Wagner for his "music dramas" in the small town of Bayreuth, north of Munich. Everything about Wagner, who by the time of the *Ring*'s performance had become one of the most influential figures in European culture, is excessive, contradictory, overwhelmingly powerful and rich. He was a poet and revolutionary whose vocation (after a reading in 1847 of Droysen's translation of the *Oresteia*) was to restore ancient Greek culture and somehow begin the world anew; he was a wonderful musician whose reverence for Beethoven nevertheless spurred him to go beyond Beethoven, to design new harmonic and dramatic structures that shattered most of the musical conventions of his time. He was also an egomaniac for whom an inspiring relationship with Cosima (Liszt's daughter and the wife of Hans von Bülow, a great pianist and conductor who nevertheless remained Wagner's totally dedicated champion) focused his career but did not prevent him from having messily dependent and often sadistic relationships with other people. He was a remarkably prescient psychologist, able to understand the darkest intimacy as well as the largest-scale forces in human history. He was Hitler's favorite composer (partly because, like Hitler, the older Wagner had become a perfervid anti-Semite and German chauvinist) but also the greatest single influence on advanced music in the twentieth century.

Wagner is still almost impossible to comprehend, so untidily does he sprawl across nearly every aspect of the culture of the modern West. As Carl Dahlhaus has suggested, overriding all his theories about race, culture, philosophy, art and history was Wagner's remarkably constant interest in the opera (which he thought had been discredited by the Italians) as reconstructed by him. Onto the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

music drama he heaped his hopes, talents and interests as a musician, librettist, stage designer, financier, historian, politician and philosophical visionary. Adorno's early book on Wagner attacks him savagely for exactly this mess of ambitions, claiming that notwithstanding his talents Wagner presaged twentieth-century imperialism and terrorism. The *Ring* was Wagner's biggest work by far, requiring not only an unusually competent conductor and large orchestra but also a cast of thirty soloists capable of managing complex, daring music produced not as a series of set arias and recitatives but in the form of what Wagner called "endless melody." At the heart of his scores is a web of interrelated themes or leitmotifs (the sword, the hero, the curse, redemption, etc.) that superseded classic symphonic form. It provided both an overarching musical structure as well as a complete musical language designed to express moods, objects, characters, not only in and of themselves but as they change according to circumstances. So plastic and inventive is Wagner's technique that his 100 or so infinitely varied motifs quite literally constitute the *Ring*'s entire musical score: His aim, he once said, was "dramatic perfection above" (onstage), "a continual symphony below" (in the orchestra pit).

The *Ring* purports to be Wagner's version of history: Spectators cannot merely see or enjoy it the way they might Bellini or Verdi, but must live it over the four days of the cycle. Yet there is no way of really doing this without some fairly close prior knowledge of what is taking place on the stage, much of which, I think, is lost on modern audiences, who can neither follow the German original nor do the research required for full comprehension. The story is in fact an extended decline-and-fall nineteenth-century family chronicle that starts (in *Rheingold*) in the realm of the timeless and ends up (in *Götterdämmerung*) in a shattered, cataclysmic history about whose meaning Wagner himself was uncertain.

The Australian comedian Anna Russell used to do a brilliant sendup of the *Ring*, accentuating (with only some exaggeration) its repetitiveness, its author's propensity to retell the story at each opportunity, its improbabilities and semideranged atmosphere. Wagner certainly deserves the spoof. An unstable, remarkably dynamic genius, he saw the entire world as a space filled by his strengths and weaknesses; these are given epic "Wagnerian" scope in the tetralogy. But the *Ring* also contains a mass of inconsistencies whose presence in the score testifies to Wagner's twenty-year struggle to get the thing finished, as well as to his innumerable changes of mind. Thus Wotan, who is one of Wagner's alter egos, is a Zeus-like and yet vacillating and greedy father of the gods. He has had three known marriages, two of them incestuous: with Erda, a primitive earth mother, whose children include the warlike maiden Valkyries, chief among them Brünnhilde; with Fricka (his sister), goddess of marriage; and with an unknown human woman who produced the Wälsung twins, Siegmund and Sieglinde. Much of the *Ring* is an amalgam of Norse and German mythology refashioned to highlight a melancholy late-nineteenth-century theme, man's decreasing supremacy, the consequence of Wotan's tampering with the state of nature over which he and his chosen race of Aryan heroes are supposed to rule.

The great symbolic beginning of the cycle occurs in *Rheingold* when the misshapen Nibelung dwarf Alberich, in an act of original sin, steals the Rheingold, a lump of gold watched over in

"An Unimportant, Smutty Little Rag"

That's what the FBI called ***The Realist*** in a poison pen letter to **Life** magazine back in 1968. And the editor, Paul Krassner, was labelled "a raving, unconfined nut."

Well, ***The Realist*** is being published again, only this time it's an unimportant, smutty little *newsletter*. Irreverence remains our only sacred cow. And, of course, Krassner is still a raving, unconfined nut.

For example, in the Spring, 1990 issue, on his "Court Jester" page, he writes a long editorial about the sitcom laugh track as "the lowest form of fascism."

Featured in this issue is the sensational secret diary of General Manuel Noriega. Also:

- Steve Allen discovers a strange new religious phenomenon that has been cropping up around the country – "Speaking in Numbers."
- Katherine Dunn, author of *Geek Love*, contributes a modest proposal to solve the abortion and capital punishment dilemmas alike.
- Country Joe McDonald reveals the story behind his infamous cheer song: "Collectively the entire Woodstock Nation realized they had pulled off the greatest raspberry to the establishment that had ever been pulled off and it was too late to stop."
- Plus ***The Realist's*** ever-popular "Media Freak" section, with true filler items ranging from "Toronto's city council has voted to change the sexist term 'manholes' (for sewer covers) to 'maintenance holes'" to "None of the obituaries on model Candy Jones mentioned the book, *The Control of Candy Jones*, about how she had been a CIA mind control experimentee."

You can have that issue of ***The Realist*** for $2. Or it's yours free with a subscription. We have ways of making you laugh – but never with a laugh track.

The Realist • Box 1230 • Venice, CA • 90294

Enclosed please find:

☐ $2 for the Spring, 1990 issue of **The Realist.**
☐ $23 for a 12 - issue sub plus that issue free.

Name _____ Apt. ____
Address _____
City _____ State ____ Zip ____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the river by three Rhinemaidens. He forswears love and gets the gold, which he then fashions into a ring that gives him unlimited power. Wotan's bargain with the giants Fasolt and Fafner had been that in return for their building of the castle Valhalla, Wotan would reward them with Freia, Fricka's sister. When the time for payment comes, Wotan is unable to go through with it; using Loge, the god of trickery and fire, he instead steals the gold from Alberich in order to pacify the giants. Alberich curses the Ring to eternity, and once Wotan reluctantly gives it up to the giants its dreaded power provokes a fraternal quarrel whose first casualty is Fasolt, killed by Fafner. The gods enter Valhalla at the end of *Rheingold*, their lives and rule now involved in plots and counterplots with humans, dwarfs and giants such as can only end in apocalypse.

During the next three operas we watch the incestuous love story of Wotan's twin children Siegmund (another of Wagner's self-portrayals) and Sieglinde work itself out tragically: Siegmund is killed in battle despite the fact that Nothung, his magic sword, is supposed to protect him, for it is shattered by Wotan. Sieglinde is abandoned, pregnant and unprotected. For trying to save Siegmund from Hunding (Sieglinde's appallingly brutal husband), Brünnhilde is punished by Wotan, left asleep on a rock ringed with Loge's magic fire; the fire will protect her until a hero who knows no fear can walk through the flames and claim her. Wotan is already a considerably reduced god, having in effect sacrificed Siegmund to Fricka, who is miffed at the twins' flouting of customary marital procedure. This is Wagner's sad acknowledgment that conventional society has always exacted a price for his daring genius. Siegmund's death and Wotan's extraordinarily affecting farewell to Brünnhilde, his favorite daughter, both blessed and damned, thus conclude *Walküre*, which is the most accessible of the four works.

In *Siegfried*, opera three, we discover that Mime, Alberich's brother, has been raising Siegfried, Sieglinde's orphaned son (saved by Brünnhilde), and once again, Wagner's idealized self-image. Siegfried hates Mime but stays with him in order that they may together reforge Siegmund's sword. Wotan reappears, this time as "the Wanderer," a one-eyed god who has lost his way and seems doomed to walk the earth without reprieve. Siegfried puts the sword together, rushes off to Fafner's lair (the giant has turned himself into a dragon who sleeps over the gold) and kills him as well as the treacherous Mime. Then, with the gold, he brushes Wotan aside (as Wotan had once brushed aside his father), climbs to the rock where Brünnhilde still sleeps and wakes her with the funniest line in opera: Peering down at the sleeping Amazon, this rough-hewn and bumptious youth exclaims, "*Das ist kein Mann!*" ("This is no man!"). They embrace and immediately become man and wife. End of *Siegfried*, the least regarded but, in my opinion, the most brilliantly composed and complex of the four.

Götterdämmerung, the longest and most conventionally operatic of the cycle, begins as Siegfried leaves Brünnhilde (who is now no longer immortal) in search of adventure. He happens upon the Gibichung palace, and after being given a potion by Hagen (Alberich's son, stepbrother of Gunther and Gutrune, the Gibichung brother and sister rulers) falls in love with Gutrune. He then goes back to Brünnhilde, tricks her into giving him the Ring, and gives her to Gunther as a present. Outraged, she reveals to Hagen that Siegfried, otherwise invulnerable, can be killed by a blow to his back. Hagen does so, Siegfried's death providing Wagner with an occasion for magnificent funeral music. Brünnhilde repents and as a final act of bereaved sacrifice she immolates herself on Siegfried's funeral pyre. The fire spreads everywhere, destroying even Valhalla, which in turn is engulfed by the rising waters of the Rhine. The Ring is returned to the Rhinemaidens, they pull Hagen into the maelstrom, and the cycle ends in one of Wagner's characteristic paradoxes, an enormously destructive catastrophe which is overridden by music that is cathartic and redemptive.

There is no musical experience that matches the *Ring* cycle for sheer, relentless length and single-minded grandeur—Wagner spoke of the deliberate, almost perverse patience with which like a jeweler he set each detail of the gigantic work. In every detail its immense musical fabric shows Wagner's musical genius, capable of sustaining long narrative sequences as well as the wonderful orchestral and choral set pieces that punctuate its tremendous length: the Ride of the Valkyries, the Magic Fire music, the Rhine journey, Siegfried's funeral and the Immolation scene. The *Ring* is gripping as a whole, and continues to be put on, at Bayreuth of course but also elsewhere, where it manages to draw good crowds even though the scarcity of really excellent Wagnerian voices is too critical to be remedied in the near future.

Today there is no Birgit Nilsson to sing Brünnhilde, no Lauritz Melchior to trumpet the heroic tenor part of Siegfried, no Hans Hotter to act and inflect Wotan's combination of majestic power and all-too-human confusion and sorrow (although the Met's James Morris does a credible job). Since Wagner's *Ring* is not only about Wagner but also about the ambivalent cosmic relationship between free will and determinism, between illicit and "normal" passion, you must have dominating performers who can render the difficulties as if on a world scale. Without them, therefore, opera companies that attempt *Ring* cycles seem compelled to accentuate whatever other strengths they possess, for example an eye-catching set designer, a genuinely brooding and menacing Alberich, a first-class orchestra (which along with Morris's Wotan is the Met's special virtue).

Yet for all its inhumanly remorseless forward progress (in which in some ways it resembles a Dickens or Balzac novel), the *Ring* is really a work about slipping and going backward, and was never really fully completed. Proust's idea about it has always seemed the most brilliant of all: Its unity, he said, is provided only by "retrospective illumination." Wagner began with the death of Siegfried, and worked his way back to the origin of all things in the Rhine. Only then did he impose on it the step-by-step march to annihilation, the reassertion of redemptive love, the disappearance of the old order. Unlike the Attic tragedians whom he emulated, however, Wagner had no social or political community on which he could depend for the cathartic rejuvenations of the whole society that take place at the

COMPUTERS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
Fifth Annual Conference–June 8 & 9
Hunter College (68 St. & Lexington Ave.)
TOOLS FOR POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
- Workshops—Databases, Bulletin Boards, Desktop Publishing, Managing Information
- Discussions, Demonstrations, Applications
- Consultation and Affinity Groups, Shareware
- Issues—Public Data Access, Political Campaigns, Disabled, Peace, Social Justice, Environment

CONFERENCE FEE $35, for 2 days includes lunch
(Partial scholarships available)
$45 at the door
FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:
(212) 452-7112 or (212) 666-4245

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

end of the *Oresteia* or the Theban plays; he had to provide everything himself, from out of his ego, his universal artwork, his Kingdom at Bayreuth. Thus he was always *redoing* things, restructuring, repairing, reinterpreting in an effort to get them right and give them stability *as if* from the beginning. That is why the *Ring* is full of characters who, like Wagner himself, tell the story over and over again.

These recitations are direct evidence of how Wagner's central impulse is a sort of desperate narrative that attempts to bring order and rest to a world that is beset, like Emma Bovary's, with creditors and spiteful gossips. Each of the stories told by nearly every character—the Rhinemaidens, Loge, Erda, Siegmund, etc.—jostles the others, claiming attention and space, the whole contained by the orchestra, which is the narrative of all narratives. It is this profusion of warring tales and power-driven characters that symbolizes the seething instability lodged at the *Ring*'s center, despite the work's outer solidity and imposing bulk. Produce dreams *and* power, hold on to as much as you can, try to dominate others: This is the *Ring*'s irreducible core, embodied in the exploits of Alberich, Wotan, Hunding, Hagen, Siegfried and even the dwarf Mime. Each such career, like a line of music, inevitably gives rise to others. Since the contest between them can never be resolved, it can only be restaged again and again, much as the pursuit of power and capital is an everlasting effort. Wagner fully realized the remarkable parallel between the development of symphonic music and the development of a competitive bourgeois society.

Any seriously considered theatrical and musical conception of the *Ring* today must therefore emphasize the staginess or artificiality of Wagner's attempt to use the opera house as the site where the analogy between the aesthetic and the political could be staged. In addition, an audience should be able to perceive the revolutionary quality of Wagner's musical reach as he brings the two spheres together, employing an alliterative text set to declamatory and melodic utterances of incredible plasticity, inventiveness and personality. When he said of his greatest work that it was "deeds of music made visible" he meant that his was historically the most sustained effort to chart the competitive ethos of his time both psychologically *and* symphonically, in ways scarcely dreamed of by sonata form or classical rondos. In the gripping exchanges in *Rheingold* between Wotan and Alberich, or in *Walküre* between Wotan and Brünnhilde, the double-bindings, scapegoatings and Freudian anticipations are astounding; in their self-consciousness they are manifestly unlike the un-self-conscious tub-thumping bloody-mindedness to be found in Verdi and Puccini, Wagner's contemporaries.

In short, Wagner is uneven, contradictory, wildly improvisatory in style and outlook. He fairly invites not timidity and fidelity but arrogance and panache in order to be produced satisfactorily today. His *Ring* therefore requires, I believe, an eccentric and yet integral vision, of the kind attempted in recent years by Patrice Chéreau and Götz Friedrich. The Met's solution has to be regarded as on the whole the best of a deferred invitation to do him fully; it is almost like the gathering of guests assembled to wait around before an indefinitely postponed party. Accordingly, the production's weakest aspects can be traced back either to unthinking routine or to a studied pointlessness. Thus Levine's pace for *Rheingold* was impossibly slow, drawn-out, strangely relaxed; the dramatically critical moments (usually involving the thin-voiced and undistinguished Alberich of Julian Patrick) went by without enough emphases. The weak ones simply felt tediously slow. Moreover, since Alberich's music in the *Ring* is unattractively angular and vocally twisted, it demands sharpness of inflection and rhythmic determination, for instance when the horrid dwarf scampers about in pursuit of the mermaids. Levine's rendering was more suited to a stroll on the beach, as was his orchestral work for Siegfried Jerusalem's cleverly sung Loge.

Walküre picked up somewhat, though the unacceptable schmaltz in the cello part accompanying Sieglinde's offer of drink to Siegmund boded ill. As I noted in these pages several years ago ["Music," December 6, 1986], I feel that Levine's involvement with the scores is fitful, as if he still hasn't had enough time to develop a whole reading, and at times the raucous imbalances (e.g., the funeral music of *Götterdämmerung*) argued not only the fatigue of many performances seriatim but also the failure of conception that would allow the brass and wind choirs to bray unrestrainedly. Of the various vocal disappointments the saddest was Christa Ludwig's Fricka in the first two evenings and her Waltraute in

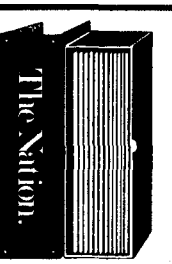
What's going on?

FILMS
LECTURES
WORKSHOPS
CONFERENCES

LOOK UNDER

EVENTS

IN THE CLASSIFIED SECTION



SAVE THE NATION

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of *The Nation*.

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134.

I would like _____ cases; _____ binders.

Enclosed is my check for $_____. Add $1 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. $2.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15. To charge call toll free 1 (800) 972-5858.

Name _____

Address _____
(NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 6% sales tax.
Satisfaction guaranteed. 9024

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the last. A formerly rich and dark soprano who had the voice to do Brünnhilde (I heard her remarkably intelligent Immolation scene with the Chicago Symphony in 1967), she has remained a canny performer with clear enunciation and idiomatic phrasing, but without a voice to speak of. The passionately energetic "Mrs. Wotan" in *Rheingold*, the angry embodiment of aggrieved matronhood in *Walküre*, the tragically beset Waltraute in *Götterdämmerung*: All these suffered Ludwig's thin, often squeaky soprano, with neither volume nor resonance to save the gestures.

James Morris as Wotan has the plush legato nobility of voice and cadenced gravity of demeanor to deliver the part in all its extraordinary richness. I thought his *Rheingold* rendition suffered from Levine's slowness, but by the time of his final appearance in *Siegfried*, confronting the almost totally inadequate Siegfried of William Johns, one knew that his was *the* respectable Wotan of our generation, closely matched by the brilliant (but lesser-voiced) Robert Hale, who performs mainly in Europe. Aside from Gary Lakes, whose all-too-brief but authoritative appearance as Siegmund dramatized the absence of *any* competent Siegfrieds, the heroic tenor part on which the last half of the *Ring* rests was realized with entirely unsatisfying results. Jerusalem did the *Götterdämmerung* Siegfried, sparing us Johns it is true, but provided neither the continuity that Wagner envisioned between the last two operas, nor the heroic volume that the part rigorously demands. But Jerusalem is a skillful and alert artist who at least looks the hero if he doesn't sound it. As Fafner, Hunding and Hagen, Matti Salminen was formidably evil, massive in girth, menacing and dark-voiced in tone. Horst Hiestermann was an excellent Mime—sensible, accurate, intelligent, but without the psychopathic dimensions brought to the role a generation ago by Gerhard Stolze.

RESOLUTIONS

Alice in winterland—
And everyone else gone to Luxor.
Nights the shop windows
look safe and warm, a gold frame
for silk, for leather; which look good *there*,

but take them home to meet my things?
January windowpanes have in common
a scrim of steam bright droplets
cut through like diamond comets. . . .
Livingroom, you'll go on hazy display

to the apartment opposite until—
until discretion rolls down
one of our blinds. City life
is an education: aboriginal
art in the showrooms; *Carmen* at the Met;

Or ask that gray-haired guard at the Modern.
And the rules of new independence?
Meals planned with at least one item
remembered from childhood; an hour
scheduled daily on the telephone;

for Sunday lunch, three friends, staunch, kind,
gifted at what (and not) to say. Safeguards. . . .
Still, when that unknown tenant, shopping
bag in hand, steps into the elevator,
glances a split second, then looks down—

Oh, if being guarded meant the same as being safe.

Alfred Corn

Finally, Gudrun Volkert's Brünnhilde. There are no first-rate Brünnhildes around, and anyone who supposes that because she is something of an actress Behrens can do the part excellently is mistaken. Behrens's singing deserves high marks for effort, but the actual sound is basically flawed (some have called it a wreck) and the overall effect, from my point of view, is decidedly poor. She has never struck me as a dramatic singer, and in the Wagnerian roles she does not display the same level of intelligence and inwardness that Gwyneth Jones, her voice now a complete disaster, has occasionally been able to muster. Ute Vinzing and Jeannine Altmeyer are Brünnhildes of some currency but they too fall very short of the desired level. In all these cases insufficient volume and quality of sound (compared with Nilsson or Flagstad) are what disqualifies them from the first rank. So when she entered the breach Volkert was entering a pretty devalued field. Behrens was injured on a Saturday night; a Brünnhilde from somewhere was needed for the following Tuesday (and, as it turned out, for Thursday and Saturday as well).

I was won over by Volkert's heroism, if not by her voice, which is a modest instrument with only average volume; in the middle register (the upper tended to be squeaky and shrill) it has a decent but rather plain expressiveness. To enter an unknown production at a moment's notice, to sing what is in effect the most difficult and the longest soprano part in opera and to do so without a single major mishap—that was pretty impressive. She was both boisterous and tender as the *Walküre* Brünnhilde, rapturously exuberant in *Siegfried* and steady and accurate in *Götterdämmerung*, which was her least convincing evening. On the other hand, the soprano who replaced Jessye Norman as Sieglinde, Hanna Lisowska, was barely adequate, a performance that highlighted Volkert's relatively stellar presence. And indeed, it is apparent that Volkert's unadorned yet reliable delivery of Brünnhilde's part had the special stamp of the Met's *Ring* production as a whole: that in a basic way it puts the tetralogy before New York (and television) audiences and allows them to experience the actual succession of narratives and music by which the cycle is constituted. Even without supertitles and a detailed knowledge of the text it has therefore been possible to understand the extraordinary combativeness and lyrical power

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Wagner's genius, to feel the irrational demands he makes on performers and audiences alike and to make some of the musical and intellectual discriminations he requires, as well as the predictions about later music he so startlingly prefigures. □

FILM NOTE.

STUART KLAWANS

Letter to the Next Generation
The Deadman

Letter to the Next Generation, which has been showing at New York's Anthology Film Archives and points west, is as personal and thoughtful a work as the title suggests. It's the first solo film by Jim Klein, who with Julia Reichert has made such documentaries as *Union Maids* and *Seeing Red*. Now he ventures forth alone to report on the Kent State University campus, as it is today and as it was twenty years ago, at the time of the killings that now are called, in the locution of tour guides, "the May 4 incident."

Back then, as Klein explains in his voiceover ruminations, he was a young activist. Today, he finds he can speak with faculty more easily than with students, many of whom seem to sense his unease. They anticipate being called apathetic; and though they might not have a ready defense against the charge, they are as unhappy as anyone else might be at the prospect of being labeled. But that, I'm glad to say, is not Klein's game. Throughout the film, he interrogates himself at least as severely as he does the students, building up to the central question: If 20-year-olds today have rejected political activism, is it because they see 40-year-old ex-activists as failures?

The answer in a moment. First, we might as well have a few laughs, as Klein does, at the mockeries wrought by time. From a succession of still photographs of the 1970 shooting, he cuts suddenly to a present-day basketball game, with the transition established by the soundtrack. Without skipping a beat, chants of "One, two, three, four, we don't want your fucking war" segue into "*Dee*-fense! *Dee*-fense!" At a tanning parlor just off campus, a young woman stretched out in something that resembles a prop from *Star Trek* explains that being tan makes her feel good about herself. (It's the only point in the whole film at which a white person speaks well of melanin.) Young men sober up long enough to explain that fraternities help you "get close to your brothers," apparently forgetting, in their earnestness, that they're in drag for the Greek Week festivities.

Of course, it's easy to get such kids to reveal themselves, especially when they're drunk. And it's just as easy to elicit revelations from the teachers, who tend to be onstage anyway. What's hard is to reflect on why students today are so different—if they *are* different—from students in the 1960s. Here's where Klein's personal testimony comes in. He understands that the pressures on students today—above all, the economic pressures—make them feel a little scared, a little helpless. He also knows that the activism of his own youth is more than a mirage of hindsight, and he refuses to judge it all as a failure. If young people now look at the 1960s with amused contempt, he decides, it's because they don't know what America was like before. They take the accomplishments of radicalism for granted, just as they assume their earliest memories of public life—of the Iranian hostage-taking and the election of Reagan—have proved the world to be dangerous and America to be uniquely good.

So Klein finishes with an optimism as quiet and pensive as the rest of the film. The next generation, he figures, must now be about 10 years old—and *their* first political memories will be of the release of Nelson Mandela and the fall of the Berlin wall. Klein's message to this next generation might not exactly call them to the barricades, but in a chastened way it still appeals to an instinct for bravery: "If we don't like what we see," Klein says, "we can do something about it."

If you've seen *Last Exit to Brooklyn* and thought the gang-rape scene was a shuck, let me recommend *The Deadman*, a new film by Peggy Ahwesh and Keith Sanborn (in the Museum of Modern Art's Cineprobe series, on June 4). The setting, for the most part, is a crummy small-town bar, shot in 16mm black-and-white. The glum heroine plays out her half-hour *Liebestod* dressed only in shoes, socks and a pair of black-rimmed eyeglasses. I especially liked the way flares kept whiting out parts of the image at the climax of the orgy sequence, as if the characters' eruptions had somehow scorched the film stock. And check this out, Jesse: Taken as a whole, the picture is chock-full of serious artistic merit. □

WEAR THE NATION T-SHIRT!

These high-quality T-shirts are black with white lettering, and have "The Nation" printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. They are all cotton, come in assorted sizes, and are only $11.95* each, postpaid. Or, for an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95* each.

YES, I want to wear the Nation T-shirt and have enclosed $_____* for the following shirts:

____S, ____M, ____L, ____XL.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

*New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.

9024

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS DESIRED

***NATION* SUMMER INTERN** seeks affordable housing, June–August, in Washington, D.C., close to Metro. Please call: Andrew Rubin, (401) 863-4777.

NATION EMPLOYEE, wife, 2 dogs and 2 cats looking for large apartment in Williamsburg. Prime lease, under $700. Please call Carlos Durazo, days: (212) 242-8400, eves: (718) 384-0947.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD. Homey, Victorian. Friendly scholarly ambiance. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

BRUNSWICK, MAINE. Samuel Newman House, circa 1821. Adjoining Bowdoin College. Quiet getaway, academic atmosphere, reasonable. (207) 729-6959.

BOOKLETS

AMERICA RE-COLONIZED! Foreign-owned Brand Names & Corporations—You thought were American. 2,000 listed, $10: R. Shutt, Box 114, Gridley, CA 95948.

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

If this book received more attention, U.S. policies in the Middle East could be better balanced and more successful.
—Adlai Stevenson III

The most important book you'll read this year. —The Hartford Courant

This was a planned, calculated attack.
—Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Retired)

I believe it was a deliberate attack.
—Dean Rusk
Former Secretary of State

James M. Ennes Jr.'s award winning true story of the attack by Israeli forces on a U.S. Navy ship on the high seas. Thirty-four Americans killed, 171 wounded. Read how it happened, how the truth was covered up. Read why survivors and top U.S. officials insist it was no accident.

ISBN 0-394-50512-3 300pp. hard cover

For signed copy via 1st Class mail send $17

Terry's Book Barn
POB 789, Woodinville, WA 98072

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Publisher with 70-year tradition. Free examination, "Guide to Publication." (800) 695-9599.

LEFT-WING THRILLERS/SOCIAL MYSTERIES. Free catalogue. SASE to Eurobooks, Box 15179, Portland, OR 97215.

KATHARINE THE GREAT, rare censored biography of *Washington Post* publisher Katharine Graham. Appendix on Benjamin Bradlee's role in CIA campaign against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, based on FOIA documents. Autographed. $20. Deborah Davis, 1109 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 709, Sister Bay, WI 54234. Send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

COMPUTERS

LONGTIME *NATION* EMPLOYEE, now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to *Nation* readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark Rausher at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

COUNSELING

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. New York City. (212) 466-6775; Nassau (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), Professor at NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Fight Against Apartheid and Environmental Destruction

Plant Trees in Mozambique

Group program begins Fall 1990 & includes intensive technical, language and documentation training before travel; U.S. presentations upon return.

Other programs to Southern Africa, Central America, Brazil, USSR & USA.

For free brochure and application:
IICD
P.O. Box 103-B,
Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

SPANISH IN GUANAJUATO. Cultural Center of Mexico. Instituto Falcon, Mora 158. Guanajuato, Gto 36000 Mexico. Phone (473) 2-36-94.

SPEAK SPANISH. Total immersion program. Established 1960. Four students per class. Cultural activities and family stay. Cuernavaca Language School, Apdo. 4-254, 62430 Cuernavaca, Mexico. Telephone (73) 15-46-43.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!

Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning, 56 languages in all. Comprehensive. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234** Dept. 645
AUDIO-FORUM® Guilford, CT 06437

Learn Spanish in a Solidarity Environment CETLALIC

In Mexico! Pablo Freire's methodology. Study Spanish & Latin American Culture. Experience community life and live with a Mexican family.

Write **CETLALIC,** *AP 1-201, Cuernavaca, Morelos Mexico 62001, Phone: (73) 13-35-79*

EVENTS

ARTIST IN THE MARKETPLACE

10TH ANNUAL EXHIBITION

Art of the 90s by 36 emerging artists

June 12 - September 3, 1990

The Bronx Museum of the Arts
1040 Grand Concourse
Bronx, NY 10456
(212) 681-6000

Marxist Literary Group
Summer Institute
Topic: CULTURAL ACTIVISM
JUNE 17-23
University of Delaware
Information: Philip Goldstein, English, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716. (302) 451-2361.

NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL SUMMER PROGRAMS

THEATER OF THE OPPRESSED WORKSHOPS WITH AUGUSTO BOAL
I. Theater and Social Change: July 3-8, $500.
II. Theater and Therapy: July 10-15, $500.

INTENSIVE IN MARXIST THEORY AND PRACTICE
July 16-27, $200.
Weeknights: 6:30-9:30 PM; Saturday, July 21: 10 AM-6 PM

Limited enrollment. Scholarships available.
79 Leonard Street, New York, NY 10013. (212) 941-0332.

HEALTH

EATING AWARENESS TRAINING

What if you could eat **whatever** you want, **whenever** you want and still keep your natural shape?
Call Ross Jacobs
(212) 929-0661

FAMILY MEDICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA. Cancer, heart, illness, weight, drugs, nutrition and emergencies. 640 pages. $21.95. Massachusetts residents add 5% tax. Silva Wayne, P.O. Box F67, New Bedford, MA 02740.

MERCHANDISE

WEAR THE NATION T-SHIRT!

These high-quality all-cotton T-shirts are black with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. They come in S, M, L and XL and are only $11.95 each, postpaid. For an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)

SAVE UP TO 40% on your shopping. Consumer cooperative now accepting new members. Send name and address for free information or $10 for membership. Fireplace Shopping, Dept. 130, 2264 Cogswell, Elmonte, CA 91732.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MERCHANDISE

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of *The Nation*. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold *Nation* logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.
Add $1 per unit for postage/handling.

Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N
499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134
Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15
To charge call 1-(800) 972-5858

Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery.

Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.
Pa. residents add 6% sales tax.

GORBACHEV BUTTONS (1-3/4"), color, USSR. $2.50, quantity discounts. Ed Armon, P.O. Box 1800, New York, NY 10008-1800.

RUSSIAN TYPEWRITERS. New Erika portable, $225. Also others. Jacob Sachs, 251 West 98th Street, New York, NY 10025. (212) 222-6683.

MUSIC

MUSICIAN SEEKS FINANCIAL BACKERS for professional studio demo project. Intelligent, political, funky pop-rock music with industry interest. Invest in creativity. Serious inquiries only please. Nation Box 550.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with *The Nation*? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Sandra Zickefoose (212) 242-8400.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

INTELLIGENT, ATHLETIC, MARRIAGE-MINDED black professional, 37, with diverse interests (including: running, classical music, biking, travel) seeks open-minded, cultured, attractive woman to share interests. Nation Box 621.

LIBERAL, FREE-MINDED MAN likes to contact other fathers who are sole legal custodians or adoptive parents of young children. Nation Box 622.

PERSONALS

WIDOWER—seeking unique, beautiful, Marxist, 50+ woman. W. Bess, 2 Athenia Avenue, Clifton, NJ 07013. (201) 471-6027.

PROGRESSIVE SINGLE MAN, 39, new to San Francisco, seeks romantic woman with whom to: explore city, play tennis and scrabble, read, cook and attend the ballet, movies, concerts and baseball games. Nation Box 613.

NYC WOMAN: Politically progressive, intelligent, attractive, sense of humor, 30s, single. Seeks man with same qualities. Nation Box 614.

DEBRA WINGER COULD PLAY ME in the movie version but Julie Kavner probably will. Kevin Costner could play you but Albert Brooks probably will. Boston/New York/Philadelphia. Nation Box 615.

39, F, 5'3/4", slim, attractive, compassionate and romantic. Looking for man in his early to mid-40s, warm, giving, honest, accepting and easy going, who is looking for a long-term relationship. I'm a psychiatric nurse with progressive politics, and like walking, the beach, movies, cooking together, jazz, classical music and someone with a spiritual life. Send a photo if possible. Boston area. Nation Box 616.

"SHANE VIE DIE LEVONE, LICHTIG VIE A SHTERN." Fiftyish widow, 5'4-1/2", good face and figure, appealing, desirable, professional, intellectual, funny, loves the outdoors and the arts. Seeking same in supportive, active man. Bergen County, New Jersey. Nation Box 617.

SWDJM, EARLY 60S, wants thinking man's woman, 50-56, 5'6", very slim, attractive, extra sensual and super-bright, professional lawyer, etc. I am a retired professional, financially secure, 6', slim and very masculine. Want monogamous, permanent, physical and mental relationship. NYC area. Photo and bio. necessary for reply. Nation Box 618.

MYTHIC, HANDSOME, PASSIONATE Jewish male, physician, 30, with a love of adventure, intrigue, mirth, mystery, romance and love—in quest of a woman of wit, warmth, beauty, sensuality, intellect and imagination. Photo please. New York. Nation Box 620.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

"CUPID'S DESTINY"—World's greatest singles magazine. Sample: $1. Emmie. Box 957406-N, Duluth, GA 30136.

FUN-LOVING BRUNETTE, fine arts professional, attractive, 34, seeks handsome, energetic, well-educated man with terrific sense of humor, 35-42. New York City area. Note/photo preferred. Nation Box 605.

ARE YOU A GENT OF INTELLECT with a humanistic philosophy and liberal political leanings (latter 50s plus) who would like to meet a woman possessing these qualities as well as female charm? Write: Nation Box 607.

RADICALLY PROGRESSIVE early 20s NYC struggling illustrator seeks a woman with whom to share politics, love of art, fun, film and funky dance beats. Nation Box 609.

BOSTON: 35-YEAR-OLD WOMAN—youthful, attractive, healthcare professional, loves old movies, dancing, the outdoors, etc., seeks man, 28-42, with a positive outlook and good sense of humor, who wants a relationship based on equality and respect. Nation Box 610.

SPUNKY, SLIGHTLY STUBBORN, NYC, pretty, petite, professional SWF, 40, into holism, values, people, arts, nature, seeks special single man for friendship first, long-term relationship second. Nation Box 611.

ATTR/PROGRESSIVE/FUN NYC WF, 32, seeking ATTR M, 30-40, NYC area, for fun/friendship/romance. Nation Box 623.

PERSONALS

SOUTHERN MAINE BRIGHT BLOND, tall, slim, global, gregarious, lively, but loves solitude of outdoors, seeks 50ish SM for friendship, fun, affection. Nation Box 624.

CAREER WORLD TRAVELER, mature, financially unstable, smoker seeks nonathletic, literate, affectionate late-50s male. Must love Italian films, music (no post-Schoenberg please), ocean views, late night snacks. First 500 responses get ball point pens, 501st, me. Nation Box 625.

PRETTY WOMAN, 50. Tall, slim, Ivy alumna with left politics. Gentle, passionate, funny. Loves baseball and jazz, good food, Bob & Ray, Dvorak, Truffaut. NYC/NJ. Photo. Nation Box 626.

VIGOROUS MALE SOCIALIST, 60, creatively homesteading in New York State (2 hours from NYC), seeking female friendship, intelligent rather than cerebral, strong yet vulnerable. Nation Box 627.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, a 75-year old religious, pacifist organization, seeks Department Coordinator responsible for fundraising, membership development through direct mail, personal solicitation, etc. Demonstrated ability in fundraising, familiarity with direct mail, planned giving. Modest salary, excellent benefits, meaningful and challenging work. Applications due July 15. Minorities/women encouraged. Send résumés to: FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

WORK IN NICARAGUA

APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled, to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA, P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: EL RESCATE. Largest provider of legal/social services to Central American refugees. Administer legal, human rights, social service departments; 15-person staff; fundraise. Three years experience managing social change organization, bilingual Spanish/English. Salary: $28,000-$30,000 DOE. Résumé to: Niels Frenzen, Search Committee, 3535 West Sixth Street, Ste. 100, Los Angeles, CA 90020. (213) 385-2977.

HOUSING ORGANIZER for Lower East Side tenants' rights organization. Responsibilities: organize tenants; counsel them on legal rights; negotiate with landlords, agents and attorneys. Some court work. Paralegal training provided. Requirements: good communication skills, oral and written; Spanish desirable. Salary: depending upon experience, plus benefits. Send résumé to: GOLES, 525 East 6th Street, New York, NY 10009, Attn.: Ed Delgado, director.

DIRECTOR: NONPROFIT HOUSING advocacy organization based in Clinton community in Manhattan seeks Executive Director to manage 30-person/$1 million agency. Salary: $40,000 plus benefits. Send résumé to: HCC Search Committee, 777 Tenth Avenue, New York, NY 10019.

MAJOR PROGRESSIVE SERVICE SECTOR labor union seeking Analyst to provide research support for private sector membership. Emphasis on labor relations and collective bargaining, industry and corporate research. BA in economics or related field and excellent writing skills are required. Previous union, policy or community organization experience preferred. Starting salary in the upper 20s; excellent benefits. Applicants should send résumé and writing sample to P.O. Box 34104, Washington, DC 20043.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. $12/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box NAT, 1601 Connecticut Avenue,NW, #600, Washington, DC 20009.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE *NATION* INTERNS skilled in research, fact-checking, editing and writing looking for meaningful employment in New York City, Toronto, Montreal and San Francisco. Available starting immediately. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $18. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

NICARAGUA'S VIEWPOINT:
Barricada Internacional,
biweekly news from Managua.
$35/year; $18/6 mo., sample free!
Barricada USA-N, P O Box 410150,
San Francisco, CA 94141

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, "Promoting the Arts in Small Communities," $6. Special prices for bulk orders.

PUBLICATIONS

INTERNATIONAL PRESS REVIEW
An alternative source of news. Monthly summary of current world events. $25/yr.
Subscribe to:
IPR P.O.Box 6455 Alexandria, Va. 22306

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

NEW HAMPSHIRE COTTAGE, on 3 wooded acres. Ultimate back-road privacy and tranquillity. Mint condition. $99,000. (603) 763-9339.

SERVICES

EXPERT HOUSEPAINTER—and socially conscious, too. Prompt, neat, reasonable rates. Airless sprayer for large spaces. 10 years experience. References. Free estimate. Call and leave message: (718) 789-1944.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF, CHALLENGE. Scholarly booklet—$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

SUMMER RENTALS

RENTAL: JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER. Quaint stone cottage by the Lakes of Killarney, County Kerry. Hiking, fishing. Quiet, removed. $2,500 per month. Photos and details on request. Call Loretta at (212) 935-4500.

MEXICO: SAN MIGUEL DE ALLENDE. 2 bedrooms/2 baths, beautiful furnished home, spectacular views, ideal weather. Pure water, maid-cook and gardener services. Central location. July-Spetember. $1,500/month. (516) 731-6779.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA: Evaluate the changes for yourself. Join a 9-day socio-political delegation this summer. Call or write: Office of the Americas, 8124 W. Third St., #201, Los Angeles, CA 90048; (213) 852-9808 or (800) 888-6423, ext. 2090.

HITCH A RIDE TO EUROPE ANYTIME on a commercial jet for $160 from the east coast, $269 from the west coast, or $229 from anywhere else. Call AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

BELFAST MARCH TOUR—AUGUST 4-14. Fact-finding delegation to the 6 counties of Northern Ireland. $300, excluding airfare. (212) 567-0707.

Third World Reality Tours
Learn the issues firsthand. Meet with labor, religious, peace, and environmental organizers, gov. officials and scholars. Upcoming tours to Haiti & Dominican Republic, Appalachia, Brazil, Southern Africa & Central America. Contact:
Global Exchange 2141 Mission St., #202 San Francisco CA 94110

T-SHIRTS

WEAR THE NATION T-SHIRT!

These high-quality all-cotton T-shirts are black with white lettering. "The Nation" is printed on the front and "since 1865" on the back. They come in S, M, L and XL and are only $11.95 postpaid. For an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD $1.50/word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words each, abbreviations and zip codes as one. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready $60/column inch; not camera-ready $60/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of $15/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; *Nation* box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of $10; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 5 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for *Nation* box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

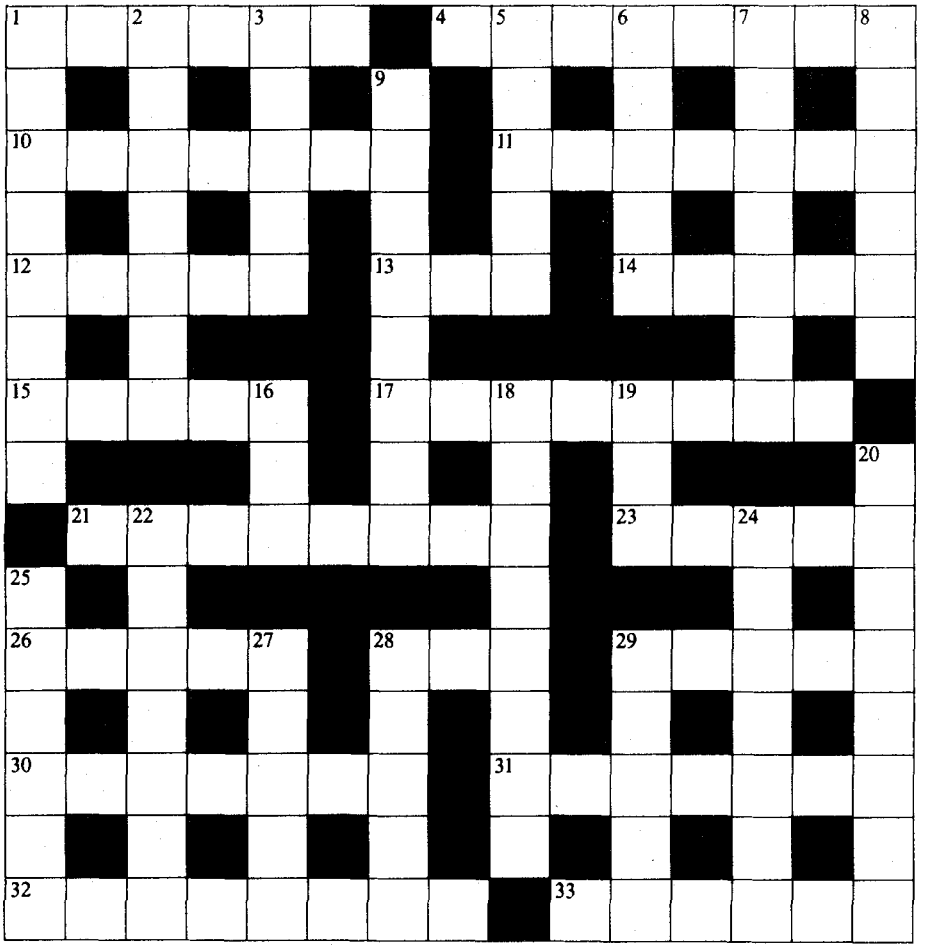
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2293

I	N	C	E	N	T	I	V	E	S	■	S	C	A	R
D	■	A	■	E	■	N	■	Q	■	S	■	A	■	E
L	A	S	C	A	R	S	■	U	T	T	E	R	E	D
E	■	T	■	R	■	P	■	A	■	O	■	O	■	S
■	S	E	A	S	H	E	L	L	■	P	A	U	S	E
W	■	R	■	■	■	C	■	■	■	P	■	S	■	T
I	N	S	E	T	■	T	O	T	H	E	V	E	S	T
S	■	■	■	E	■	O	■	U	■	R	■	■	■	E
H	A	S	H	M	A	R	K	S	■	S	A	T	Y	R
Y	■	U	■	P	■	■	■	C	■	■	■	R	■	S
W	I	N	C	E	■	B	R	A	N	C	H	E	S	■
A	■	B	■	R	■	A	■	R	■	L	■	A	■	G
S	A	U	C	E	R	S	■	O	N	O	R	D	E	R
H	■	R	■	D	■	T	■	R	■	S	■	L	■	I
Y	A	N	K	■	D	E	B	A	S	E	M	E	N	T

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2294

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Seldom seen in bad shape, though they pose a lot. (6)
4 Wet, so far as possible, as the hacker has it. (8)
10 A bit of light hurried about and took care of a garden chore. (7)
11 See 29 across
12, 13 and 14 The mongrel that isn't on top tears into what might be hazards at the beach. (13)
15 Rather peculiar tales of the inventor. (5)
17 Those who might be learning where the golfers start around the water hazard, possibly. (8)
21 Fed up, and about old enough for what the paper sometimes gets when you're through with it. (6,2)
23 Opera coats, possibly. (5)
26 and 28 Hello, Mr. Skelton!—One that shoots a Western villain, probably. (5,3)
29, 16 down and 11 A rather dated expletive—something that might go with a stormy murder. (5,3,7)
30 Talked about the article appearing in Washington? (7)
31 If you get sick with less than a hundred on it, you're certainly not above board. (7)
32 Similar to loch at least it should appear similar. (8)
33 How Shakespeare is mainly remembered, although it isn't the main action. (6)

DOWN

1 The show-me state, thus about to stop one that might bite you. (8)
2 What the skier did coming up is about 500 Registered Nurses, which might be considered good for a miss in the Alps. (7)
5 and 3 It might be the final wrapping of a hen in space. (5,5)
6 Some say such words were never spoken! (5)
7 Make a slow movement also put up your money! (7)
8 P.T.'s famous exit? (This way to it!) (7)
9 and 28 One might suppose this to be the next best thing to the truth, having been to school! (8,5)
16 See 29 across
18 Article with more than one page to finish by nine, an extract of it being familiar to the A.M.A. (9)
19 A profit many players might jump at! (3)
20 The group of musicians I attempt to incorporate into 31 activity? (8)
22 Something that holds the propeller in place. (Sounds like the wizard lost his head!) (7)
24 Keeping one's cool, it's the last arrangement to expect about the rising labor organization! (7)
25 What the sculptor might do is make an unwarranted gain. (6)
27 A certain type of 28 across must be this to be effective, and is so pictured. (5)
28 See 9 down
29 Teddy considered this good for one that intimidates. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

ABOUT YOUR *NATION* SUBSCRIPTION

NOTE Subscription orders, changes of address, and all subscription inquiries should be sent to The Nation, Box 1953, Marion OH, 43305, or call 1-800-669-1002

Please allow us six weeks to solve a subscription problem or to change your address. These transactions are handled by our subscription service in Marion, Ohio. They operate their computers on a long-range schedule that allows for orderly processing, generating reports and producing labels for mailing the magazine.

You may get a bill or a renewal notice after you have already paid or renewed. Please disregard it. Bills and renewal notices are mailed on a monthly basis, but since the information must be pulled two weeks before the mailing, bills and payments sometimes cross in the mail.

Changing your address. When you change your address, we need the complete old and new addresses as well as a copy of your mailing label, if possible. If your new address is temporary please send to "temporary address change" and make sure to include your permanent address, and the dates of the change.

Missed copies. We publish 47 issues and send over 2.5 million copies to our subscribers each year. Occasionally copies go astray, for a variety of reasons. If you notify us of missed copies within 60 days of the issue date, we will be happy to replace them.

Mailing list. *The Nation* makes its subscription list available to carefully screened organizations whose programs or services may interest our readers. No one is allowed to use our list without our approval. If you do not wish to receive such solicitations, however, please advise us and we will delete your name from the lists we make available.

Foreign subscriptions. Copies going overseas are shipped by surface mail and may take several months to reach subscribers. Air mail is more expensive but copies will arrive usually within two weeks. Air mail rates are available on request.

The Nation hopes to give its subscribers the best possible service. We appreciate your cooperation and understanding.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

green´tap-ping℠ *v.t.*, The cost-free way Working Assets taps the economic system for money to protect the Earth.

It's not in your Webster's Dictionary. It's a word we invented to explain our unique way to protect the Earth.

Consider Working Assets Long Distance. Every time you call, 1% of your charges goes to non-profit action groups like the Environmental Defense Fund, Rainforest Action Network and Earth Day 1990, *at no cost to you.* You help decide which groups each year.

Where does the 1% come from? From money that normally goes to your long distance company. By switching to *our* service you redirect that 1% to hard-hitting environmental groups, without paying a penny more. That's the beauty of Working Assets' greentapping.

The US Sprint® Connection

Working Assets Long Distance uses the fiber-optic network of US Sprint. So you get the same low rates and high quality service *all* US Sprint customers get—plus the satisfaction of preserving the only planet we've got.

It's simple to become a Working Assets greentapper. Just call 1-800-877-2100 (ask for extension 500), or return the coupon below. We'll do everything else except dial your calls.

WORKING ASSETS LONG DISTANCE

230 California St., San Francisco CA 94111

☑ **YES!** Sign me up for Working Assets Long Distance and give 1% of my charges to non-profit groups that protect the Earth, at no cost to me.

List all numbers to be connected. Include area codes.

( ) _____ ( ) _____

_____

Name (Please Print)

_____

Address

_____

City/State/ZIP

_____

SIGNATURE Date

By signing you authorize us to notify your local phone company that you choose US Sprint to be your primary long distance carrier. You can place calls with other carriers and switch to another carrier at any time. Your local phone company may apply a small one-time service charge. To help offset the charge we'll credit your third month's bill with 30 free minutes of interstate calling at the US Sprint 3,000 mile night/weekend rate.

SSN 106-23-3010-WE G2E

Mail to: Working Assets Long Distance, 230 California Street, San Francisco, CA 94111

Sometimes improving the world is easy.

Just call 1-800-877-2100 (ext. 500)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED